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ABSTRACT

This dissertation presents the application of change theory to the results of empirical research on concepts underlying the change process. It is stated that the change process is based upon the assumption that women can implement change to alleviate institutionalized discrimination in the organizations in which they work. The objective of the research is stated as being to develop and implement strategies for the alleviation of sex discrimination in promotion and training opportunities in two federal civilian agencies. Chapter one of this dissertation presents background information on the problem of prejudice, and an introduction to the study. Chapter two contains a review of the literature. Methodology and procedures are discussed in chapters three and four. Chapter three deals with the policy research and provides a description of those parts of the internal and external environment which impacted on the study. Chapter four examines the environment after the application of change strategies and describes the evaluation research. The empirical findings from the policy research appear in chapter five. A summary of the results and conclusions are presented in chapter six. (RC)

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APPLICATION OF CHANGE THEORY FOR ALLEVIATION OF PREJUDICIAL BARRIERS TO CAREER ADVANCEMENT FOR WOMEN: A STUDY IN TWO FEDERAL AGENCIES

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I. INTRODUCTION

The origins of sex discrimination are varied and complex. They may be cultural, sociological, psychological, or economic; they may be personal or institutionalized. Whatever the source, the form, or the reality, women employees are conscious of discrimination and groups have formed to challenge the status quo.

This challenge has its roots in the feminist movement of the early 1900s. In its simplest terms, feminism is the theory that women should have the same economic, social, and political rights as men. Feminists have employed a variety of tactics to gain these rights. The women's liberationists of the 1960s chose sexual emancipation as an expression of personal freedom. They picketed beauty contests and in other ways tried to change the age old image of women.

The early feminists in America were called "suffragists" in recognition of their crusade for the right of suffrage. The elder stateswomen of the campaign were Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. Both saw the vote as a way to achieve the other rights they sought. Their battle began before the turn of the century and lasted for seventy years. Neither woman lived to see it end.[1]

In the long view of history the battle was a short one. Social

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[1]Suffragists were called "suffragettes" by their detractors. This, and other information on page 1 was derived from American Women, 4 vols. (New York: Cambridge Book Co., 1973), vol. 1: American Women: Their Image 1900 - 1930s, p. 33.

change comes slowly; it does not keep pace with technology. Ogburn[1] defined this phenomenon as the "social lag." In a later publication Watson[2] described it in terms of growth rate, as shown in Figure 1. Watson claimed that technological change has risen exponentially, whereas social change reflects a lower order.

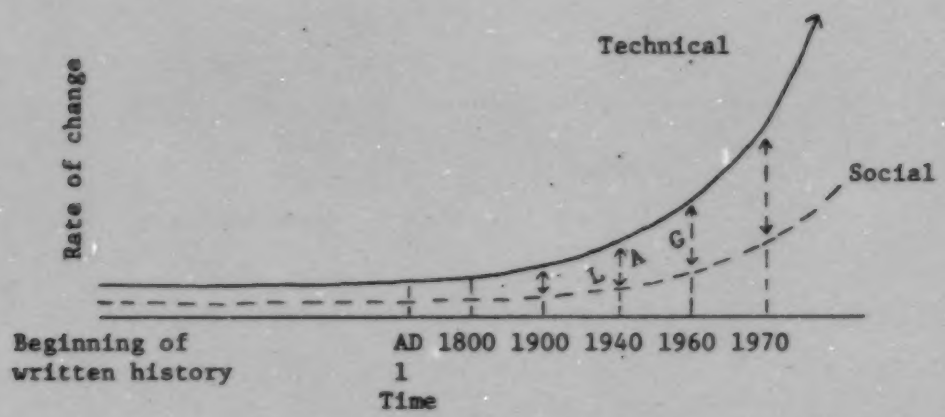

Figure 1. Technological and social advance

In exploring the phenomenon Watson posed two questions: "Why is there reluctance to change social patterns? What psychological factors underlay the lag?" His answer was that some factors are personality characteristics; others are traits of the social system. He classified these factors as inertia, anxiety, unconscious resistance, vested interests, and suspicion of the strange or unknown. Lewin[3] referred

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[1]William F. Ogburn, Social Change With Respect to Culture and Original Nature (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1922), p. 135.

[2]Goodwin B. Watson, Social Psychology - Issues and Insights (Philadelphia: Lippincott Co., 1966), pp. 533, 535.

[3]Kurt Lewin, "Group Decisions and Social Change," ed., Eleanor E. Maccoby, Theodore M. Newcomb and Eugene L. Hartley, Readings in Social Psychology (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1947), pp. 197-211.

to these as counter-forces which must be reduced before chance can occur. There are a number of strategies for reducing resistance, including use of the power structure. However, strategies must be carefully timed. For example, at what stage should advocates of a reform seek to embody their proposal in law? Sumner[1] phrased this question more succinctly: "Do stateways change folkways?" His answer was that laws do not always prevail.

Watson[2] suggested that after a reform has passed the midpoint, where it has the support of a growing majority, a law or decree will greatly speed up the process of acceptance among the rest of the population. While a movement for change remains controversial, the success of related legislation depends upon the strength of political commitment.

Such commitment develops slowly when a reform involves profound social change. This notion is demonstrated in the issue of sex discrimination. The President's Commission on the Status of Women[3] was formed in 1963, under the Kennedy Administration. However, major Congressional hearings on barriers to employment were not held until 1970. During the second session of the ninety-first Congress, the two houses appointed subcommittees to look into the matter.

In the United States Senate, the Judiciary Committee held

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[1]William G. Sumner, Folkways (New York: Ginn & Co., 1906), p. 97.

[2]Watson, Social Psychology, p. 558.

[3]U. S., President, Executive Order, "President's Commission on the Status of Women," Federal Register, 28, no. 11126, 2 November 1963, p. 11717.

subcommittee hearings on the Equal Rights for Women Amendment.[1] As an outgrowth of these hearings the Citizens Advisory Council on the Status of Women[2] was formed. A report of the findings of these two bodies was published in 1970.

During the summer of 1970 hearings were held in the United States House of Representatives by Green, the representative from Oregon. These hearings provided insight into the nature and scope of discrimination in education and employment opportunities for women. The transcript of the hearings was edited by Stimpson[3] and published in text form. The book includes charts, studies, position papers and other documents which show the underutilization of professional personnel and the resulting economic loss due to sex discrimination. This general recognition of sex discrimination indicated a need for action research in the area of Federal civilian employment.

Action research refers to specific probes into organizational problems, with immediate feedback into the system. It is based on the principles of change theory. A body of literature on change theory has been produced over the past decade. In fact, development of change strategies has become a professional undertaking. For example, authors

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[1] U. S. Congress. Senate. Senate Judiciary Committee. The Equal Rights for Women Amendment. Hearings before a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Senate, on S. J. Res. 61, 91st Congress, 2nd sess., 1970.

[2] Citizens Advisory Council on the Status of Women, Report of the Council, Equal Rights Amendment - What It Will and Won't Do, (Wash., D. C.: U. S. Dept. of Labor, 1970).

[3] Catherine R. Stimpson, ed., Discrimination Against Women (Ann Arbor, Mich.: R. R. Bowker Co., 1973).

such as Mann and Neff[1] have published workshop manuals for use in training professional change agents. Like other authors in the field, Mann and Neff have recommended the use of professional agents, both for diagnosing the problem and for developing and implementing change strategies. They have pointed, in particular, to the increased objectivity of professional change agents who bring to the problem the perspective of the outsider. However, outside change agents require special employment arrangements. This means that management must be committed to changing the existing situation. However, in Federal civil service, over 95 percent of management positions are occupied by males. At this time, it is probably unrealistic to expect wide-spread hiring of change agents for alleviation of sex discrimination in Federal employment. For this reason it is important that female Federal employees develop the talent and initiative for implementing change. To facilitate this, some guidelines are needed.

This research was undertaken in response to that need. As a start, an effort was made to clearly identify the problem in areas most likely to respond to change. In the following sections the challenge confronting women in Federal civil service is developed more fully.

The Nature of the Problem

A major challenge confronting women in Federal civil service is the problem of overcoming prejudicial barriers to career advancement. Increased opportunities for higher education have weakened the barriers

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[1]Floyd L. Mann and Franklin W. Neff, Managing Major Change in Organizations (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Foundation for Research on Human Behavior, 1961), p. 2.

by increasing the number of professional women available for management positions.[1] However, women are not gaining entrance into these positions in any large numbers. According to civil service statistics reported in March 1975, women represent only 4.5 percent of Federal employees in grades GS 13 and above.[2] That the existing merit promotion system has failed to protect women from prejudicial practices can also be seen by the increasing number of sex discrimination complaints filed with the United States Civil Service Commission. On the other hand, women have not found the commission sufficiently effective, mainly because it does not use its power to compel compliance.[3] The dilemma, therefore, is: Should strategies be developed to alleviate sex discrimination within the agencies or should the existing legal structure be strengthened to respond more effectively to prejudicial acts?[4]

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[1]K. Patricia Cross, "Women Want Equality in Higher Education," Educational Horizons, 52 (Winter 1973-74): 72.

[2]U. S. President, "Memorandum for Heads of Departments and Agencies," Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, 11, no. 10, 10 March 75, National Archives and Records Service, (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1975), p. 244.

[3]U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. The Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort - 1974. A Report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights to Eliminate Employment Discrimination, 5 (July 1975): 67, 514-22. The 1972 amendments to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 extended coverage to public employees, but assigned enforcement of public employment anti-discrimination to U. S. Civil Service Commission. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission enforces anti-discrimination in the private sector.

[4]A number of suggestions for changing the "system" were proposed by Harry Kranz in his article, "Are Merit and Equity Compatible?," Public Administration Review, no. 5 (Sept./Oct. 1974): 434-40. Kranz pointed out that the Civil Service Commission permits goals, timetables, etc., but that restrictive regulations minimize the utility of these procedures. In addition, the Commission has shown little interest in promoting or monitoring the progress that various agencies are making toward these goals. The proposals in the Kranz article would indeed help to overcome prejudicial barriers. The question is: When will they be implemented?

There is no simple solution to this complex situation. As stated earlier, social change comes slowly but so does legal action. At some point each is required. The research study addressed the problem of prejudicial barriers in the context of change from within the agencies.

Purpose

This research was an initial step toward the alleviation of prejudicial barriers to career advancement for women. The objective was to develop and implement strategies for the alleviation of sex discrimination in promotion and training opportunities, in two Federal civilian agencies. In order to increase utility and generality, evaluation research was also undertaken.

Since most Federal civilian agencies are subject to the general rules and regulations of civil service, change strategies developed in the study should be applicable to other agencies. This was an important consideration of the study.

Another purpose of the study was to create change from within the agencies. The problem of sex discrimination has a long history and the record shows that few men have crusaded against it. It is not reasonable, therefore, to expect wide-spread hiring of outside change agents by the predominantly male management of Federal civil service.

It was not the purpose of the research to provide a fully structured and operational process for reducing prejudicial barriers. The intent was to create specific instances of change as an impetus for more profound change.

The Scope and Limitations of the Study

Both sections of the study were restricted in scope. The empirical part of the research was limited to one grade level in two agencies of a single Federal executive department. A single grade level was used in order to keep the research within reasonable time and size limitations, and at the same time develop benchmark data. These data will provide the basis for special surveys or other investigations needed to stabilize the change. For this reason comprehensiveness was considered less important than depth.

The implementation and evaluation of change was limited to two elements. This limitation was part of the strategy, and was consistent with the notions of change theory that suggest introduction of gradual change in order to avoid bringing about counter-inducements.[1]

Due to the sensitive nature of the research problem, the study agencies were not identified in the dissertation. However, management personnel in both agencies were aware of the research. The names of the agencies may be obtained in oral communication and the research may be replicated by permission in these or other agencies.

Because respondents were fearful of retaliation from their supervisors, no personal identification appeared on the questionnaires. A

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[1]Kurt Lewin, "Group Dynamics," ed., Maccoby, Newcomb and Hartley, Readings in Social Psychology, pp. 197-211. Another theory holds that it is best to make changes at once - not gradual or piecemeal - and get the resistance over with quickly. This was the opinion of psychologists in relation to the implementation of the Supreme Court order (July 1954) on racial integration in schools, according to Watson, Social Psychology, p. 558. The gradualist approach seemed a better choice for this study, however, due to the lack of management commitment or assured legal backing.

control system was established through the interviewers.[1]

Definition of Terms

Change Theory: This refers to principles for planned change, under which strategies can be developed for defining the objectives of the change and for devising tactics designed to achieve the desired goal.

Change Period: The fifteen weeks between the release of the policy research report and the beginning of the evaluation research. This was the period used for testing the hypotheses.

Competitive and Noncompetitive Promotions: The Federal service is divided into several pay classification systems. The General Schedule (GS) system covers most white collar jobs and accounts for about half of the total Federal employment. The GS system is divided into eighteen pay levels, or grades, defined by statute according to the degree of responsibility or skill required at each level.[2]

As a rule, "professional" employees are hired at the GS 5 or GS 7 level with the understanding that they will receive promotions up to the GS 12 level, providing their work is satisfactory. Thus, up through GS 12 an employee does not have to compete against other persons for a promotion. Therefore, in this study promotions

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[1]Usually a respondent's name or a unique code is entered on the questionnaire for control purposes and for follow-up in case items on the questionnaire have been omitted in error. For this study, no names or codes were recorded. Therefore, interviewers were instructed to make a careful edit of the form before terminating the interview. In addition, interviewers recorded the total number of completed interviews and classified the noninterviews as in- or out-of-scope. The author maintained only a numerical control, which contained no names or respondent codes. This extraordinary concern for privacy was necessary because of the general fear of retaliation by supervisors.

[2]U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Enforcement Effort - 1974, pp. 12, 422.

through GS 12 were referred to as "noncompetitive."

According to the merit system in civil service, when filling a vacancy for positions at GS 13 and above eligible candidates within or outside the agency may be considered. Promotion to GS 13 is not automatic. Therefore, in this study GS 13 promotions were referred to as "competitive."

For greater detail refer to CSC, Bulletin No. 250-5, Assuring the Integrity of the Merit System, 7 November 1974.

Contemporary Effects: This refers to factors in the study environment which may influence the results of the study, but for which the degree of influence is difficult to measure. Arbitrary attitudinal changes is an example of this, and one which was of particular concern in this study. Another example is apathy resulting from frustration; as example, from continuing discrimination.

Federal Civilian Agencies: This refers to agencies under Federal civil service rules and regulations; for example, the Bureau of Standards in the United States Department of Commerce.

Grade: General schedule positions in the Federal civil service are classified into levels or grades according to certain criteria, such as type of duties, responsibilities, and pay scale.

Professional Positions: These are the positions held by professionally trained persons in the Federal civil service; for example, economists, statisticians and psychologists. Managerial, executive, and most supervisory positions are also considered professional. By contrast, clerical and secretarial positions are considered non-professional.

Strategy: As used in this dissertation, strategy is a plan or method for systematically bringing about change.

Hypotheses

There were four hypotheses of the policy research, based on change attributable to the action of the study, as measured in the evaluation research.

Hypothesis 1: During the change period, the number of women promoted to grade 13 would exceed the average increase during a comparable period of 1974 by 10 percent or more.

Hypothesis 2: There would be an increase of 10 percent or more, in the number of women in grade 12 positions scheduled to attend government management training courses in 1976, as compared to the number that attended in 1975.

Hypothesis 3: After the change period, there would be a decrease of 10 percent or more in the number of women in grade 12 positions who perceive themselves as "presently discriminated against."

Hypothesis 4: There would be a policy change in the study agencies, so that eligible persons would be notified before a position is filled.

Assumptions

The following basic assumptions were made:

(1) The estimate of promotions to grade 13, promulgated in the 1975 Equal Employment Opportunity Plan, were realistic. (This document was used for extracting "extraneous" promotions to determine if the change could reasonably be attributed to the change process.)

(2) Women would know if they were scheduled for management training in 1976 and would accept training assignments as an objective of

equal opportunity.

(3) No change in civil service rules would occur that would interfere with valid comparison of 1975-1976 schedules for management training.

(4) Contemporary effects would not be excessive to the point of confounding results, in relation to the third hypothesis. The complex and controversial nature of the problem was cause for concern.

(5) Records could be obtained to establish a basis for recognition of the policy change specified in the fourth hypothesis.

Research Methodology

Two types of action research were used in this study. The first was policy research which dealt with the development and implementation of strategies. The second, evaluation research, was undertaken to measure the results of the policy research and to introduce feedback into the system. The methodology described here refers to both research efforts.

The interview was the primary research technique employed in the empirical portion of the policy research. In order to structure the interview a questionnaire was employed. However, each person interviewed was encouraged to speak freely on topics related to the research. The questionnaire was designed with several open-ended questions for this purpose. Interviewers were instructed to edit questionnaires before concluding the interview. No follow-up of individual items was possible since respondents were not identified on the questionnaire.

Empirical research, using an interview schedule, was also planned for the evaluation research. This would have provided a dual system study. However, due to changes in the study environment that caused

severely disruptive contemporary effects, the interview technique was replaced by a records check and comparative analyses.

Another technique used in the study was extensive library research. This research was undertaken to provide background and support material for various phases of the study, particularly for the development of strategies.

In connection with Chapter III, a preliminary review was conducted in the study agencies to obtain information on the nature and scope of the problem. The techniques used in this information gathering stage included a records search and unstructured interviews.

Summary

There exists a large body of literature on change theory, including the social psychology of change, resistance to change, and managing social change in organizations. In general, the literature suggests the use of an outside change agent, preferably a professional in the field. There exists no guidelines specifically designed for women employees to create change from within a Federal organization. And yet it would seem that, if women employees accept the challenge before them, such a resource is sine qua non for creating change. It is upon this assumption that the major benefits of this study rest.

The study is of little value if women employees reject the role of change agent. It is women, not men, who have crusaded for equal rights for women. But men occupy over 95 percent of top management positions in Federal civil service. Thus, if outside change agents are employed, men must hire them. It is not realistic to expect this to occur in any large measure under existing conditions. This notion and

other rationale for the study were discussed in Chapter I.

The chapters that follow present background information on the problem of prejudice, concepts of change theory, and details of the study research. Chapter II contains a review of the literature. There are two sections; the first part provides insight into the nature of prejudice and the second part explores change theory. Methodology and procedures are discussed in Chapters III and IV. Chapter III deals with the policy research, which includes the development and implementation of strategies and methodology for the related empirical research. It also provides a description of those parts of the internal and external environment which impacted on the study. Chapter IV examines the environment after the application of change strategies and describes the evaluation research. The empirical findings from the policy research and the results of the evaluation research appear in Chapter V. A summary of the results and conclusions developed during the study are presented in Chapter VI.

II. LITERATURE RESEARCH

The research study focused on the problem of sex discrimination, both as it was perceived and as it was manifested in the study agencies. The intent was not to prove that prejudicial barriers existed but rather to deal with them in the context of change theory.

These two subjects - prejudice and change theory - were researched in depth. A summary of the literature on prejudice appears in the first section of this chapter. It provides background on the nature of the problem. Strategies based on change theory were utilized to attack the problem in the study agencies. A summary of literature on change theory appears in the second section of the chapter.

The Nature of Prejudice

The word prejudice is derived from the latin noun praejudicium, which the ancients defined as precedent - a judgement based on previous decisions. In Middle English it acquired the meaning of premature or hasty judgement. To this was later added the emotional content of favorableness or unfavorableness that accompanies unsupported judgement. The transition of the term was discussed by Allport[1] in his eclectic theory of prejudice.

Simply stated, prejudice is thinking ill of others without sufficient reason. This definition has two essential ingredients -

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[1]Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., 1954), pp. 6, 8, 12.

unfounded judgement and a feeling tone. According to LaForge[1], a Jesuit priest, this definition was derived from the Thomistic moralists, who regarded prejudice as "rash judgement" but recognized a continuum from prejudgement to prejudice.

Prejudgement implies a lack of knowledge. Allport[2] cited three examples of this:

(1) Overcategorization, which he defined as "given a thimbleful of facts we rush to make generalizations as large as a tub."

(2) Misconceptions.

(3) Blind conformity with prevailing folkways.

Prejudgement becomes prejudice only if it is not reversible when exposed to new knowledge. This often occurs when a third ingredient is present. Allport called this "functional significance"; that is, the prejudice fulfills a specific irrational function for its bearer. Thus it serves a private, self-gratifying purpose, which helps to direct the way in which the prejudice is acted out.

Allport classified acting out of prejudice according to the degree of hostility manifested. He suggested five categories:

(1) Antilocution - talking about prejudice.

(2) Avoidance - avoiding the disliked group.

(3) Discrimination - making detrimental distinctions of an active sort.

(4) Physical attack - attacking individually or in gangs.

(5) Extermination - killing. Lynchings and the Hitlerian program of genocide are examples of this.

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[1]John LaForge, Race Question and the Negro (New York: Longmans and Green, 1945), p. 174.

[2]Allport, Prejudice, pp. 9, 14, 15.

Discrimination may be further classified as personal or institutionalized. Racial segregation is a form of institutionalized discrimination, as is systematic exclusion of women from certain professions or from career advancement.

Discrimination occurs only when individuals or groups are denied equality of treatment which they desire. However, this desire may be masked, along with frustration and resentment against the discriminating individual or society. There are various forms of masking, such as giggling, subservient or childish responses, and vacuous staring. These overt responses are accommodations and, to the trained observer, expose the pernicious nature of discrimination. For example, in reference to blacks, Allport[1] said:

> So well may they hide their resentment that to the superficial eye they appear completely satisfied with their lot. The mask of contentment is their means of survival. (Italics mine.)

This also points out the interpenetrating nature of his classifications. The act of discrimination may carry the threat of extermination. For women this is more likely to be symbolic or to take the form of individual attack.

Personality Factors

For some people - misogynists among them - sex-grouping remains important throughout their lives. Women are viewed as a wholly different species. Sex differences are greatly exaggerated and are inflated into imaginary distinctions that justify discrimination. This, and other forms of stereotyping are not identical with prejudice. They are primarily rationalizers which are adapted to the prevailing temper of

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[1]Ibid., p. 146.

prejudice or the needs of the situation. The prejudiced personality, in terms of social learning, has been explored by Murphy, Humphrey, Myrdal, and Neugarten, as well as Allport.[1] Theories developed by these authors were researched for this study.

Socio-cultural Factors

The situation emphasis is one approach to understanding prejudice. It focuses on the current forces and acts as a mirror image of what one sees around one. Thus in the employment situation, hostility is primarily in terms of prevailing economic competition. It is manifested, for example, in excluding women from certain types of occupations or from career development opportunities. Other examples of situations which arouse prejudicial hostility are social mobility, types of contact by the disliked group, or density of the group.

In addition to the situation emphasis, there are various other theories of prejudice. Allport favored an eclectic approach, which he described as "a ring of keys each of which opens one gate of understanding." His diagramatic view of various approaches is shown on the following page, along with a brief summary of explanations by Allport and other authors, including Parsons and Shils.[2]

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[1]Gardner Murphy, In the Minds of Men (New York: Basic Books, 1953), pp. 219-25; Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, 4 vols. (New York: Harper & Row), 1 (1944): 667; Norman D. Humphrey, "American Race and Caste," Psychiatry, vol. 2, no. 2. (May 1941), pp. 159-60; Bernice L. Neugarten, "Social Class and Friendship Among School Children," American Journal of Sociology 51 (1946): 305-13; Allport, Prejudice, p. 207.

[2]Gordon W. Allport, "Prejudice: A Problem in Psychological and Social Causation," Journal of Social Issues 4, supplement (1950): 25; Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils, Toward a Theory of Social Action, 4 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press), 4 (1951): 1.

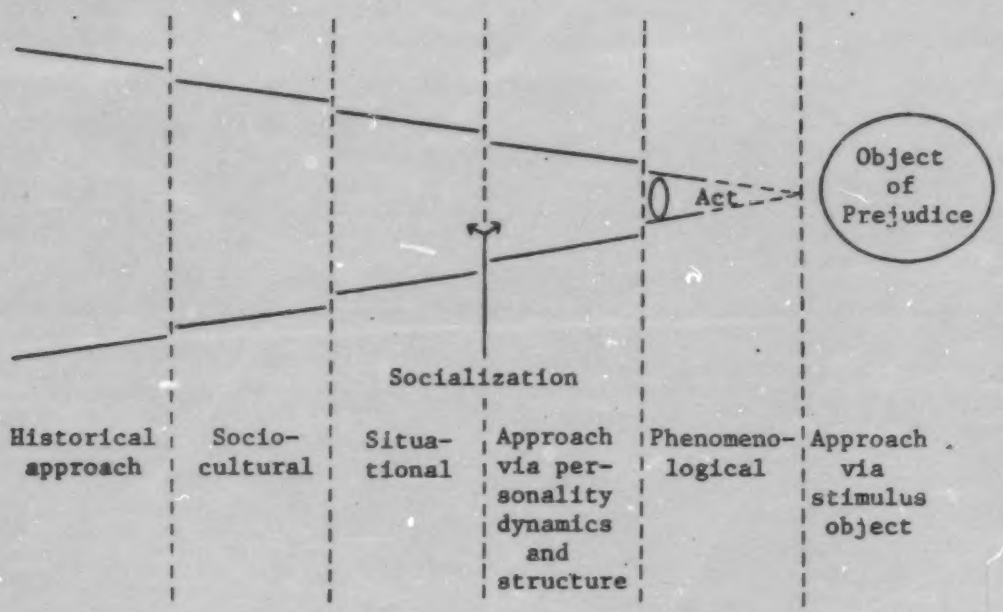

Figure 2. Theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of the causes of prejudice

The first approach shown in Figure 2 is the historical view. Historians insist that only the total background of a conflict can lead to its understanding. They tend to stress the importance of economic determfnants, such as the exploitation theory of prejudice held by the Marxists. This theory refers to rationalized exploitation. Cox[1] described it as the practice of stigmatizing some groups as inferior so that the exploitation of the group itself or its resources may be justified.

The sociocultural emphasis is on the total social context in which prejudicial attitudes develop. Rose[2] described this approach in

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[1]Oliver C. Cox, Caste, Class, Race (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1948), p. 393.

[2]Arnold M. Rose, "Anti-Semitism's Root in City-hatred," Commentary 6 (1948): 374-78.

relation to anti-Semitism. He said that prejudicial attitudes develop from traditions, relative upward mobility in out-groups and in-groups, density of the population concerned, and the type of contact that exists between the groups.

The situational emphasis was described earlier. Allport[1] pointed out that if the historic emphasis is subtracted from the sociocultural emphasis, what is left is situational. In this approach the historic emphasis on past patterns is replaced by an emphasis on current forces.

The psychodynamic approach emphasizes stress causation in human nature. This is derived from the philosophy of Hobbes which places the sources of conflict in economic advantage, fear and defensiveness, and desire for status (pride). Bettelheim and Janowitz[2] cited the vehement prejudice of an unemployed World War II veteran, to demonstrate the role of frustration in causing, or intensifying, prejudice. The frustration theory is sometimes known as the scapegoat theory. The notion that frustration and deprivation lead to hostile impulses was explained by Tolman[3] in terms of "narrowing of our cognitive map due to too strong motivations or to too intense frustration." Allport[4] pointed out the character structure aspect of this theory. Insecure and anxious personalities who adopt the authoritarian and exclusionist way of life develop prejudice as an important feature in their lives.

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[1]Allport, Prejudice, p. 207.

[2]Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz, Dynamics of Prejudice: A Psychological and Sociological Study of Veterans (New York: Harper & Row, 1950), p. 82.

[3]Edward C. Tolman, "Cognitive Maps in Rats and Men," Psychology Review 55 (1943): 1-4.

[4]Allport, Prejudice, p. 215.

In the phenomenological emphasis, a person's conduct proceeds immediately from the view of the situation confronting him or her. The response to the world conforms to the person's definition of the world. Thus a person applies labels and believes them.

The stimulus object approach refers to the earned reputation theory. It subscribes to the notion that the despised group may provoke dislike and hostility. A modification of this is the interactive theory - that hostile attitudes are in part determined by the nature of the stimulus and in part by considerations essentially irrelevant to the stimulus. Zawadski[1] described the interactive theory, using scapegoating as the irrelevant stimulus.

In synthesizing these theories, Allport[2] pointed to the general law applying to all social phenomena, that multiple causation is invariably at work, "...and nowhere is the law more clearly applicable than to prejudice."

The eclectic approach recognizes the validity of each of the other approaches but emphasizes the impact of variable factors. Thus, in systematically excluding women from career opportunities, a government official may be demonstrating the situational emphasis, the stimulus object emphasis, the historical emphasis, or some combination of these. Multiple causation is basic to the eclectic approach.

In subscribing to the eclectic theory, alleviation of discrimination becomes more complex. A rich diversity of strategies is needed to compliment the various approaches in Figure 2. This is necessary,

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[1]Bohdan Zawadski, "Limitations of the Scapegoat Theory of Prejudice," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology 43 (1948): 127-141.

[2]Allport, Prejudice, p. 218.

whether one is considering the full array of discriminatory practices or concentrating on particular elements.

The primary elements considered in this study involved barriers to career development for women in Federal civil service. In particular, the legal and economic issues were explored.

Economic Factors

There are a number of theories that deal with the effect of discrimination on the economy; some emphasize conditions of supply, others of demand. Madden[1] presented a series of models in which the effects of prejudice were examined in relation to free trade. She indicated that:

> When discrimination exists the discriminating society is willing to pay a premium, comparable to a tariff in international trade, to avoid association with the society discriminated against.

The premium one pays can be measured in terms of a discrimination coefficient, in which the size of the coefficient reflects the extent of discrimination. The effect of discrimination is similar to that of tariffs, which hold trades below free trade levels and reduce output through inefficient distribution of resources.

Becker[2] defined the discrimination coefficient as a measure of "the taste of discrimination," which he demonstrated in terms of wage rates. In his model he showed that discrimination coefficients (DC) interact with elements in the market - its structure, the distribution of individual differences in taste, and the quantitative significance of the "discriminated against" - to determine a market discrimination

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[1]Janice F. Madden, The Economics of Sex Discrimination (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1973), p. 38.

[2]Gary S. Becker, The Economics of Discrimination (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1971), p. 137.

coefficient (MDC). This provides a measure of the proportional difference in wage rates, which is quantitatively measured by the formula:

$$MCD = \frac{\pi\omega - \pi\eta}{\pi\eta}$$

where $\pi\omega$ and $\pi\eta$ represent the equilibrium wages of the discriminators (ω) and the discriminated against (η), respectively.

The point Becker made is that discrimination is a restrictive practice that interrupts free trade between two independent societies, capital intensive (ω) and labor intensive (η). If there were no discrimination, that is if free trade existed, each factor would receive payment equal to the value of its marginal product.

Madden[1] examined Becker's model, and several others, in terms of the effect on economic factors produced by discrimination against women employees. She raised an interesting point about Becker's model. When an occupation is open to both males and females, the result should be that over time only females would be hired. This would occur because "male applicants would demand a premium for working with females." The increasing competition for females would bid wages up and the differential would tend to decrease over time. Since this does not occur in Becker's model, Madden suggested the possibility that the loss to society from discrimination may be shifted to the victims of that discrimination.

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[1]Madden, Economics, p. 42. Becker's model is one of several models described by Madden, along with the strengths and weaknesses of each. As with other economic issues, there is agreement and disagreement with Becker's model. For additional evaluation and discussion on the model, particularly in reference to the dual market and differentiated observations about labor market sectors and strata, see David M. Gordon, Theories of Poverty and Underemployment (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath & Co., 1972), p. 123. For a related discussion on economic inequality and status see S. M. Miller and Pamela A. Roby, Future of Inequality (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1970), pp. 4-5, 42-43, 218-21.

Demographic Issues

It is important to realize that the economic loss to society may be shifted to women but the burden is shared by males and females, especially the young.

In the United States, in March 1974, thirteen and one-half million mothers of children under eighteen were either working or looking for work. Almost twenty-seven million children were in this group. When asked the main reason for working away from home, more than half of the mothers cited economic necessity.[1]

Another important statistic is the number of families in the United States headed by a woman. In 1955 there were 4.2 million of these families and in 1973 there were 6.6 million - an increase of 56 percent. In recent years their growth rate has been notable. The increase during the first third of the 1970s (1.0 million) was nearly equal to the increase during the previous decade (1.1 million). In addition, the median age of women who head families declined by five years during the period 1960-1973, while the number of women who had completed four or more years of college increased by nearly fifty percent during the same period.[2]

In summary, the statistics indicate a very rapid increase over the last several years in the number of female heads of families.

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[1]U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Children of Working Mothers, March 1974, Special Labor Force Report 174, pp. 64-65.

[2]The statistics in this section are derived from the following source, unless stated otherwise: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Female Family Heads, Current Population Reports, Series 23, No. 50, (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1974), pp. 6, 15-16.

These females are increasingly younger and better educated and, for a large proportion of them, work is an economic necessity. The number and characteristics of women in the work force are undergoing a substantial change.

There are approximately 78.6 million females, aged sixteen and over, in the United States; 45 percent of them are in the labor force. Women comprise 38 percent of the labor force but they are concentrated in a very small number of occupations. Bem and Bem[1] reported that 78 percent of all working women are employed as clerical workers, service workers, factory workers, and sales clerks. Four million women are classified as professional or technical workers, but nearly 75 percent of these are nurses or non-college teachers, which the authors refer to as quasi-professions. Fewer than 1 percent of all working women are in the "higher" professions such as doctors, lawyers, scientists, and college professors. In management occupations only 4 percent are women, most of whom are managing small retail stores.[2]

Economic statistics describe a similar situation. In 1971 the median income of full-time women workers was $5,701; for men this figure was almost $4,000 higher. Furthermore, the gap has steadily increased. In 1960 the dollar difference was a little over $2,100; in 1966 it was a little over $2,900.[3] According to the United States

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[1]Sandra L. Bem and Daryl J. Bem, Training the Woman to Know Her Place: the Social Antecedents of Women in the World of Work (Harrison, Pa.: Department of Education, Box 911, 1974), pp. 2-3.

[2]U. S. Department of Labor, Wage and Labor Standards Administration, Women's Bureau, Handbook on Women Workers, Bulletin 294 (1969), p. 1.

[3]U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Pocket Data Book U.S.A. (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1973), pp. 133, 139.

Department of Labor, in 1970 a female college graduate working full-time could expect to earn less per year than a male high-school dropout.[1]

Bem and Bem[2] attributed the pay differential to two basic reasons. First, in every occupation category, women are concentrated in the lower-paid positions. This even applies in the clerical field, where 73 percent of the employees are women. Female clerical workers are assigned to lower-status positions and, as a consequence, earn about 65 percent of the wages earned by males in clerical occupations. The second reason for the pay differential is clear discrimination - unequal pay for equal work.

Legal Issues

New laws have been enacted that address both of the situations mentioned. The Equal Pay Act of 1963 prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex in the payment of wages for "equal work, requiring equal skill, effort, and responsibility under similar working conditions in the same establishment."[3] In a landmark ruling, May 1970, the United States Supreme Court ordered a New Jersey glass company to distribute $250,000 in back pay to women selector-packers. This sum reflected the 21.5 cents per hour differential pay that men had been receiving. Similar cases have been tried in the lower courts, or settled out of

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[1]U. S. Department of Labor, Wage and Labor Standards Administration, Women's Bureau, Fact Sheet on Earnings Gap (February 1970), p. 1.

[2]Bem and Bem, Training the Woman, p. 3.

[3]U. S. Department of Labor, Employment Standards Administration, Women's Board, Brief Highlights of Major Federal Laws and Order on Sex Discrimination (June 1974), p. 1.

court. However, an estimated $17 million is still owed to women in back pay.[1]

As of July 1, 1972, the protection of the Equal Pay Act was extended to executive, administrative, and professional employees and to outside sales personnel. As of May 1, 1974, the act was further extended to most employees of Federal, State, and local governments. Equal pay is now a matter of law.

However, to benefit from equal pay women must also have equal access to jobs. Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibits discrimination in employment on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin, and sex. Although there has been severe operational problems which limit its utility, this law has the potential of being an effective instrument in helping to achieve sex equality in employment. In 1974 sixty-eight hundred charges of sex discrimination were filed with the Civil Service Commission under this law. This was an increase of 22 percent over the previous year and 71 percent over 1972.[2] However, the number of cases filed reinforces the point Sumner[3] raised in his question: "Do stateways change folkways?" His answer was that laws do not always prevail. The number of charges filed under Title VII indicates that the law is not "prevailing." Another illustration of this is the Equal Pay Act of 1963. The landmark court case just cited did not take place until 1970, seven years after the law was

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[1]Bem and Bem, Training the Woman, p. 3.

[2]Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort, p. 67.

[3]Sumner, Folkways, p. 97.

enacted.[1]

Probably the most important legislative breakthrough in the area of sex and equality was the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, by both houses of Congress, in 1972. The amendment simply states that "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex." This amendment was introduced into every session of Congress since 1923,[2] and although it has been enacted by Congress, to date it has not been ratified by the required thirty-eight states. The legislative process is still incomplete after half a century. However, this is not unusual; it has its parallel in history.

Feminist Movement

At the turn of the century feminists campaigned for the right of suffrage. They saw it as a way to achieve the other rights they sought. One of the great reformers of the period was Susan B. Anthony.[3] For seventy years she fought for women's suffrage. In fact, during those years the nineteenth amendment was commonly referred to as the "Anthony Amendment." She was not alone, however. Names such as Belmont, Stanton, and Catt[4] appeared in the newspaper headlines of the day, just as the names of Friedan, Atkinson, and Dohrn have appeared in the newspapers

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[1]This delay is not unusual for Supreme Court cases; the point is that the Equal Pay Act did not "change folkways" for seven years after it was enacted.

[2]Bem and Bem, Training the Woman, p. 4.

[3]Ida Huster Harper, Life and Letters of Susan B. Anthony, 2 vols. (Wash., D. C.: Susan B. Anthony Foundation), 2 (1925): 931-53.

[4]American Women, Their Image, 1: 12, 33, 44.

since 1965.[1] These newspaper articles reflected the central theme of feminism - that women should have the same political, economic, and social rights that men have. The names have changed but the basic issues remain.

On the following pages are headlines and excerpts from articles in the New York Times,[2] which chronicle the feminist movement from the suffragists of the 1900s to the liberationists of the 1970s. These illustrations, in Figures 3-5, provide some notion of the interplay of forces - for and against women's rights - during the past seventy-five years. They also indicate the broad range of issues involved in the feminist movement; issues such as marriage, birth control, abortion, drinking, smoking, suffrage, educational opportunities and employment opportunities. The research study focused on the last two issues; the others provide an illustration of the interactive nature of discrimination and the persistence of certain issues over the years.

Principles of Change Theory

Change has been the way of life of most civilizations. Toynbee[3] described this as the age-old cycle of innovation, inertia, and insurrection. In his cycle the initial period of enterprise moves to a period of stabilization, in which growth and flexibility give way to

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[1] American Women, American Women: Emancipation and Radicalism 1950s - 1970s, 3: 14-15, 24-39.

[2] American Women, Their Image, 1: 1-64; American Women: Transition Period 1930s - 1970s, 2: 1-64; American Women: Today 1960s - 1970s, 4: 1-65. These publications provide documented headlines and articles from the New York Times.

[3] Arnold J. Toynbee, "Again Nationalism Threatens," New York Times Magazine 5 (1963): 23.

HEADLINES AND EXCERPTS FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES

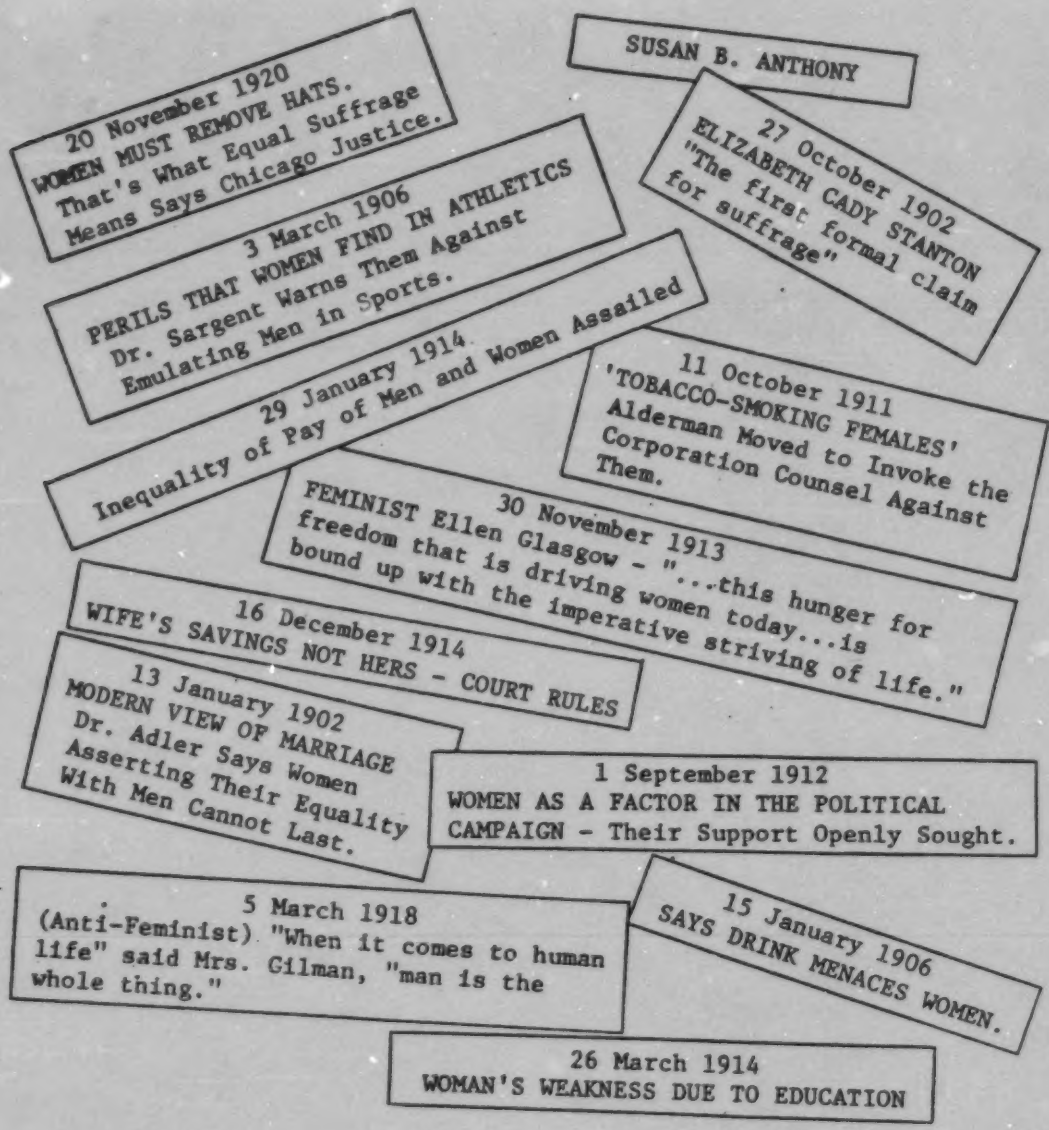
20 November 1920
WOMEN MUST REMOVE HATS.
That's What Equal Suffrage
Means Says Chicago Justice.
SUSAN B. ANTHONY
27 October 1902
ELIZABETH CADY STANTON
"The first formal claim
for suffrage"
3 March 1906
PERILS THAT WOMEN FIND IN ATHLETICS
Dr. Sargent Warns Them Against
Emulating Men in Sports.
29 January 1914
Inequality of Pay of Men and Women Assailed
11 October 1911
'TOBACCO-SMOKING FEMALES'
Alderman Moved to Invoke the
Corporation Counsel Against
Them.
30 November 1913
FEMINIST Ellen Glasgow - "...this hunger for
freedom that is driving women today...is
bound up with the imperative striving of life."
16 December 1914
WIFE'S SAVINGS NOT HERS - COURT RULES
13 January 1902
MODERN VIEW OF MARRIAGE
Dr. Adler Says Women
Asserting Their Equality
With Men Cannot Last.
1 September 1912
WOMEN AS A FACTOR IN THE POLITICAL
CAMPAIGN - Their Support Openly Sought.
5 March 1918
(Anti-Feminist) "When it comes to human
life" said Mrs. Gilman, "man is the
whole thing."
15 January 1906
SAYS DRINK MENACES WOMEN.
26 March 1914
WOMAN'S WEAKNESS DUE TO EDUCATION

Figure 3. Feminist Movement 1900 - 1920. This was the age of the suffragists; they fought for women's right to public expression, education, and suffrage. Their battle ended in 1920 when the 19th Amendment became a part of the United States Constitution.

HEADLINES AND EXCERPTS FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES

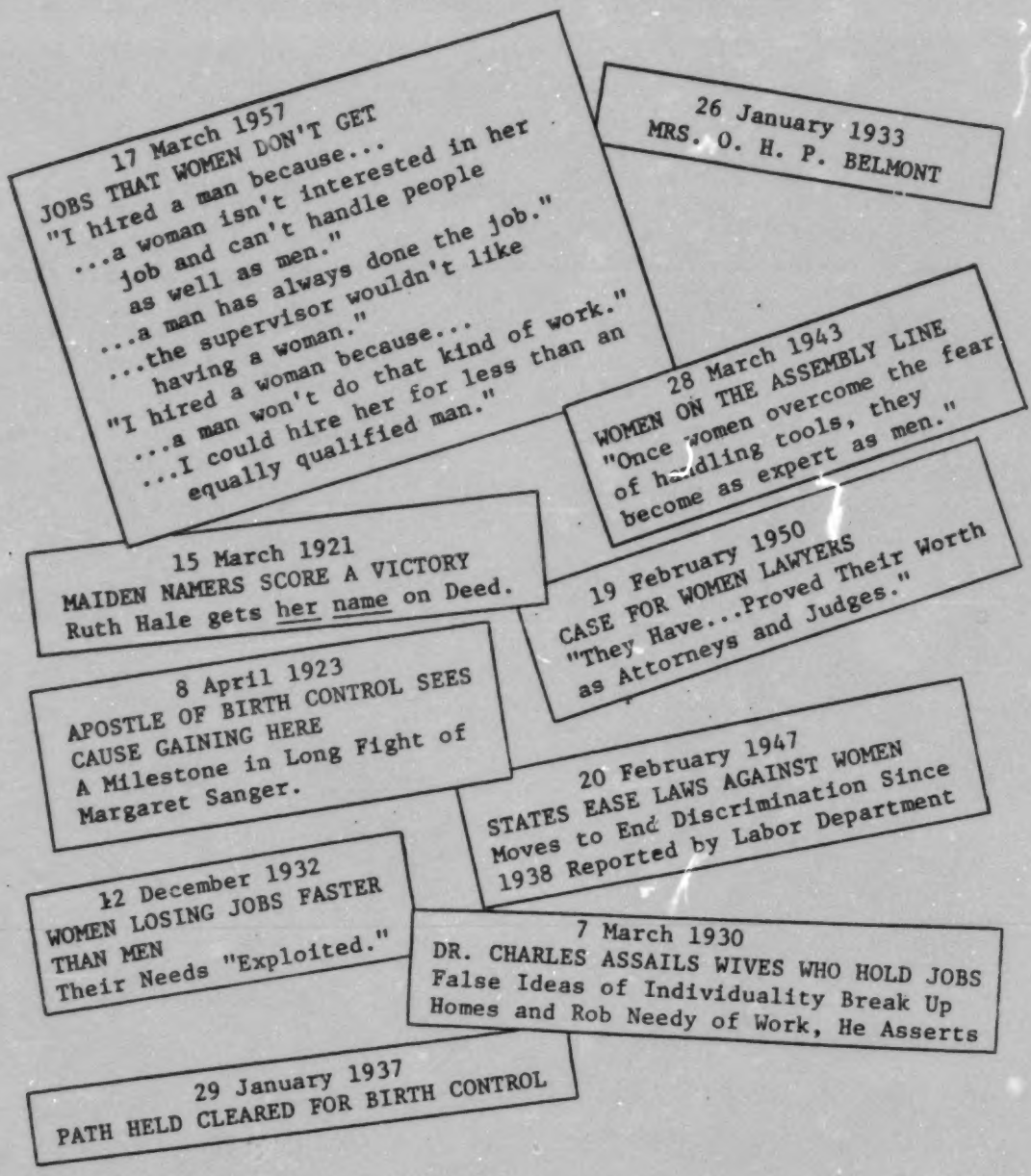
17 March 1957
JOBS THAT WOMEN DON'T GET
"I hired a man because...
...a woman isn't interested in her job and can't handle people as well as men."
...a man has always done the job."
...the supervisor wouldn't like having a woman."
"I hired a woman because...
...a man won't do that kind of work."
...I could hire her for less than an equally qualified man."
26 January 1933
MRS. O. H. P. BELMONT
28 March 1943
WOMEN ON THE ASSEMBLY LINE
"Once women overcome the fear of handling tools, they become as expert as men."
15 March 1921
MAIDEN NAMERS SCORE A VICTORY
Ruth Hale gets her name on Deed.
19 February 1950
CASE FOR WOMEN LAWYERS
"They Have...Proved Their Worth as Attorneys and Judges."
8 April 1923
APOSTLE OF BIRTH CONTROL SEES CAUSE GAINING HERE
A Milestone in Long Fight of Margaret Sanger.
20 February 1947
STATES EASE LAWS AGAINST WOMEN
Moves to End Discrimination Since 1938 Reported by Labor Department
12 December 1932
WOMEN LOSING JOBS FASTER THAN MEN
Their Needs "Exploited."
7 March 1930
DR. CHARLES ASSAILS WIVES WHO HOLD JOBS
False Ideas of Individuality Break Up Homes and Rob Needy of Work, He Asserts
29 January 1937
PATH HELD CLEARED FOR BIRTH CONTROL

Figure 4. Feminist Movement 1920s - 1950s. This was a quiescent period, in which women moved from the couturier-created Siren of the 1920s to Rosie, the Rivereter, who built the ships for World War II, to suburban living and the baby boom of the postwar era.

HEADLINES AND EXCERPTS FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES

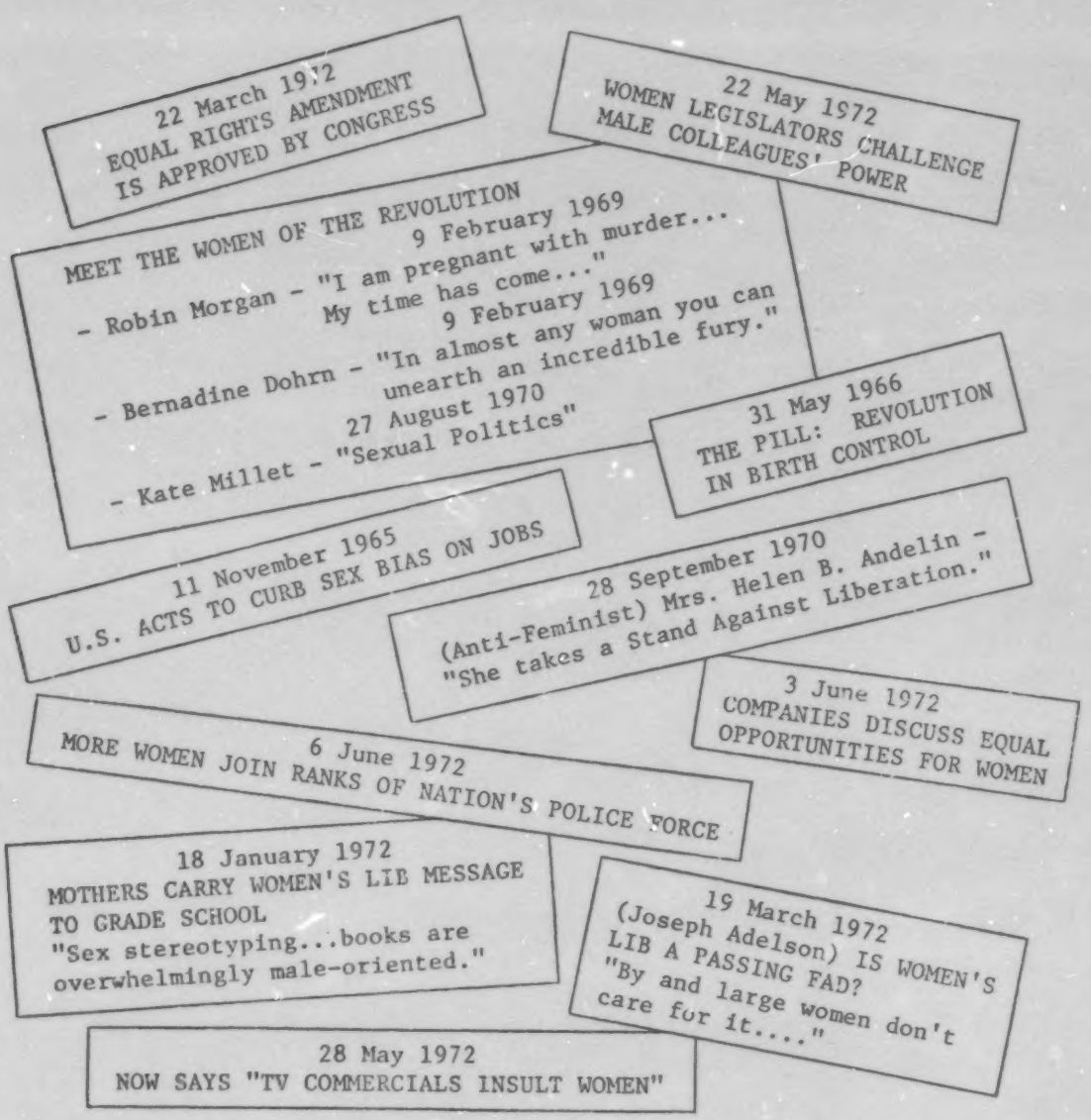
22 March 1972
EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT
IS APPROVED BY CONGRESS
22 May 1972
WOMEN LEGISLATORS CHALLENGE
MALE COLLEAGUES' POWER
MEET THE WOMEN OF THE REVOLUTION
9 February 1969
- Robin Morgan - "I am pregnant with murder...
My time has come..."
9 February 1969
- Bernadine Dohrn - "In almost any woman you can
unearth an incredible fury."
27 August 1970
- Kate Millet - "Sexual Politics"
31 May 1966
THE PILL: REVOLUTION
IN BIRTH CONTROL
11 November 1965
U.S. ACTS TO CURB SEX BIAS ON JOBS
28 September 1970
(Anti-Feminist) Mrs. Helen B. Andelin -
"She takes a Stand Against Liberation."
3 June 1972
COMPANIES DISCUSS EQUAL
OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN
6 June 1972
MORE WOMEN JOIN RANKS OF NATION'S POLICE FORCE
18 January 1972
MOTHERS CARRY WOMEN'S LIB MESSAGE
TO GRADE SCHOOL
"Sex stereotyping...books are
overwhelmingly male-oriented."
19 March 1972
(Joseph Adelson) IS WOMEN'S
LIB A PASSING FAD?
"By and large women don't
care for it...."
28 May 1972
NOW SAYS "TV COMMERCIALS INSULT WOMEN"

Figure 5. Feminist Movement 1960 - 1975. This was the age of women's liberation, a period of emancipation and radicalism. During this period feminists gained legal support: 1963 - Equal Pay Act, extended 1972, 1974; 1964 - Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, amended 1972; 1972 - Equal Rights Amendment passed in Congress.

self satisfaction of the rulers, who become blind to the need for change. This blindness creates barriers which eventually break down under the pressure of repressed energies. There follows revolution, and then transition to a new order. The "new order" or innovation becomes stabilized and the cyclical pattern is repeated.

This model of changing civilizations is only one theory of change, and one that has been disputed by other authors, such as Allport.[1] However, the model has certain adaptable features for changing conditions within a society, or within an organization. Furthermore, the general concept can be transferred to a single innovation, in which diffusion of the idea is plotted as a percentage of the adopting population over time. Havelock[2] illustrated this notion, as shown in Figure 6. Note that the distribution assumes the familiar S-curve.

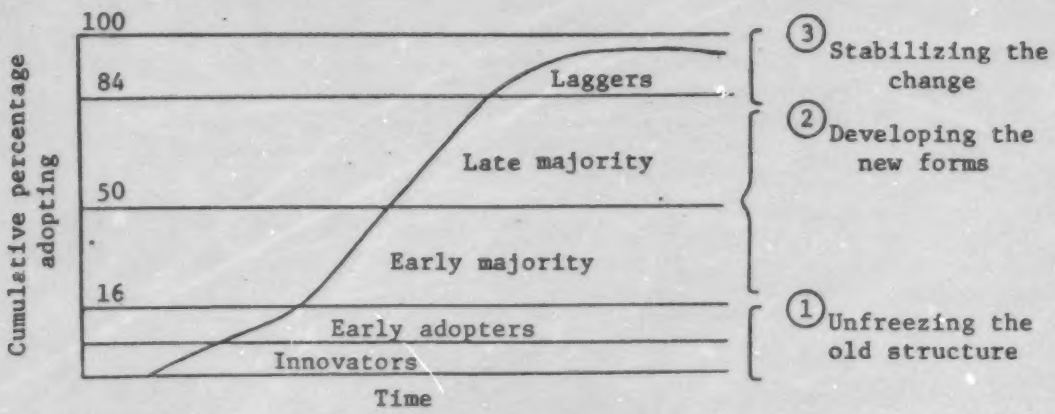

Figure 6. Adopter categorization plotted as a cumulative curve. (Parenthetical entries by this author.)

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[1]Gordon W. Allport, "Historic Background of Modern Social Psychology," ed. Gardner Lindzey, Handbook of Social Psychology (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison Wesley Co.) 1 (1954): 9.

[2]Ronald G. Havelock et al, Planning for Innovation Through Dissemination and Utilization of Knowledge (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Institute of Social Research, Univ. of Mich., 1971), p. (10-9).

Figure 6 shows a leveling-off effect which can be equated to the stabilization phase of change. Other phases of change are also suggested in the parenthetical entries. These two notions - diffusion rate and structure of change - are discussed more fully in relation to the literature review below.

Timeliness and Structure of Change Process

The spread of new ideas has been researched by social psychologists in the areas of agriculture, education, management, and many other fields. Intuitively, it would seem that the curve for adoption would differ greatly, depending upon the type of innovation. However, Havelock[1] presented a different notion. He agreed that the length of time required for diffusion varies according to the type of adoptive process; for example, widespread adoption in the use of a new toy might take six months, whereas adoption in the use of English in Catholic masses might span sixty years. However, he contended that the diffusion curves would be similar if they were plotted so that the total time elapsed for each innovation was appropriately scaled.

Depending upon the nature of the innovation, the total time might be less important than the structure of the change process. For example, Mort[2] found that after an innovation in education had been demonstrated as practical, it typically took fifteen years to reach the most progressive 3 percent of the school systems, then followed twenty years of rapid spread and fifteen more years to win over the slow adopters.

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[1]Ibid., p. 10-20.

[2]Paul R. Mort and Frank G. Cornell, American Schools in Transition (New York: Teachers College, Columbia Univ. Bur. of Pub., 1941), pp. 32-34.

Studies of other social movements generally bear out Mort's concept of the three phases in the spread of innovation - first, a period of slow recognition; second, rapid adoption; and finally, a slow absorption of the remainder. Watson[1] presented this graphically, as shown in Figure 7.

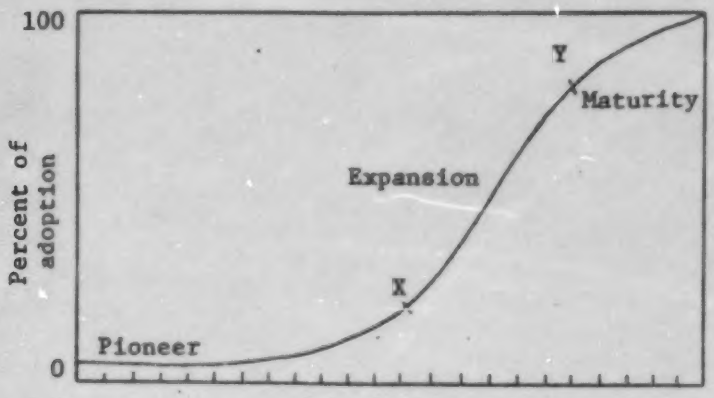

Figure 7. The growth cycle of innovation

The existence of a "normal" growth cycle is important because it facilitates planning. For example, a typical outcome of the expansion phase is the acceptance of compromises and half measures. Knowing this, strategies can be developed to maximize gains and to avoid division in the movement over acceptance or rejection of compromise.

Another important element of the change process is derived from the cumulative effect of separate innovations. Stone[2] referred to this as "the effect of discrete innovations in producing steadily increasing change." Other authors have described this effect in their research,

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[1]Watson, Social Psychology, p. 557.

[2]John T. Stone, "How County Agriculture Agents Teach," Mich. Agriculture Extension Service (Mimeo bulletin) 1952, p. 1.

along with a related notion on the interactive effect of single elements of change within a system. Watson[1] pointed out that changes in any part of a social system have consequences for other parts. Mann and Neff[2] illustrated that changes in the technique of producing seamless pipes affected the social structure of work groups. In a study of change in a community service organization, Dimock and Sorenson[3] concluded that no part of institutional change is an island in itself; changes in one program call for changes in every other part of the institution. This "whole and part" concept is an important consideration in viewing innovation as a process.

The Process of Innovation

As a starting point in looking at the process of innovation it is useful to conceptualize the system. Havelock[4] developed the model shown below. In describing the model the author pointed out that the

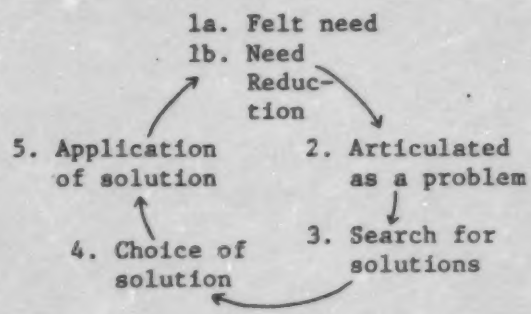

Figure 8. The need reduction cycle

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[1]Watson, Social Psychology, p. 543.

[2]Mann and Neff, Managing Major Change, pp. 25-30.

[3]Hedley S. Dimock and Roy Sorenson, Designing Education in Values: a Case Study in Institutional Change (New York: Associated Press, 1955), p. 6.

[4]Havelock et al, Planning for Innovation, p. (2-41).

change agents must act in a two-way reciprocal and collaborative manner, if they are to be effective. Generally Havelock assumed that the change agent would be an "outside" professional.

Havelock's model is a general one which can be adapted to various views of the change process. The process begins with felt need (1a) and, presumably, the application of the solution reduces need (1b). If not, the process is reiterated and a new solution is found.

Felt need (dissatisfaction) may generate from internal or external sources. Lippitt, Watson and Westley[1] suggested four forces for change. These included (1) dissatisfaction with the present system, (2) dissatisfaction with a perceived discrepancy between what is and what might be, (3) external pressures on the system, and (4) internal motivation for growth. The felt need that was most applicable to this particular study is the second one. The first two are equally applicable to the feminist movement.

Lewin[2] viewed social change as a three-stage process, as shown in the parenthetical entries in Figure 7. He felt that it is necessary to break down the old structure, including tradition and custom, before innovation can take place. The "unfreezing" occurs in stage 1 and the "refreezing," in stage 3. Stage 2 covers planning and implementation of change and the relative time required.

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[1]Ronald Lippitt et al, The Dynamics of Planned Change (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1958), p. 312.

[2]Kurt Lewin, Field Theory in Social Change (New York: Harper & Bros., 1951), p. 228.

Miles[1] discussed the impact of certain variables in the social structure on the time required for adoption of innovations in educational systems. He indicated that the movement from felt need to solution was more rapid than had been noted in Mort's[2] work, but that the conception of stages remains plausible. Carlson[3] suggested that previous studies ignored the utility and power of certain social structure variables, such as the influence of the superintendent of schools. This provides some notion of the importance of individuals in the change process.

Once a felt need enters into the change process, the next step is to diagnose the problem. This is the second element in Havelock's model. It has been discussed by a number of authors. Merton[4] stressed the need for the change agent to investigate the problem and not to rely on the policy maker. A policy maker can seriously mislead the researcher, since the policy maker has a vested interest in removing the problem from his or her domain. Watson[5] reinforced this notion. He warned that clients tend to formulate the problem to exempt themselves from blame. In general, a good diagnostic study includes the change agent as part of the problem. It is interesting that both of these

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[1]Matthew B. Miles, "Innovation in Education: Some Generalizations," ed. Matthew B. Miles, Innovation in Education (New York: Teachers College, Columbia Univ. Bur. of Pub., 1964), p. 649.

[2]Mort, American Schools, pp. 32-34.

[3]Richard O. Carlson, "School Superintendents and Adoption of Modern Math: A Social Structure Profile," ed. Miles, Innovations, pp. 339-40.

[4]Robert K. Merton, "Role of Applied Social Science in the Formation of Policy," Philosophy of Science 16 (1949): 161-89.

[5]Watson, Social Psychology, pp. 542-43.

authors referred to outside change agents. It is possible that a change agent from within the organization might have a better concept of the problem area.

The need to view the whole system, not just the part that is proximal to the problem, was discussed earlier. However, timeliness is a special case of this relationship and will be discussed here. "An idea whose time has come" is an idea that is being recognized and utilized simultaneously in various parts of a system. In a July 1975 issue of the New York Times[1] the point was made that feminists in many parts of the world had begun referring to "power" in the women's movement. In the decade from 1965 to 1975 women avoided the term "power." However, the movement has passed the transition period and this new status is being recognized spontaneously in various parts of the social system. It is "an idea whose time has come." Strategies to overcome sex discrimination should henceforth incorporate the use of group power or important opportunities may be missed.

In Havelock's model, the development of strategies belongs in the fifth position. The third and fourth elements refer to solutions to the problem - both finding solutions and evaluating them. In some cases solutions emerge when the problem is diagnosed. Watson[2] suggested that the remedies may come from particularly able individuals or from group thinking. Griffiths[3] reported, from his studies in school systems,

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[1]"Woman and Power: A New View," New York Times, 11 July 1975, sec. C, p. 9.

[2]Watson, Social Psychology, p. 545.

[3]Daniel E. Griffiths, "Administration Theory and Change in Organizations," ed. Miles, Innovations, pp. 431-32.

that the major impetus comes from the outside. Carlson[1] agreed with this and indicated that the degree of change often correlates positively with the amount of outside pressure. This does not mean that impetus for change must be either from the inside or from the outside. Sending and receiving new knowledge is an interactive process. In fact, if there are any "universal truths" about the change process, two notions are likely candidates. One is that the interaction of the sender and receiver and the synchronization of their activities are crucial to the process.[2]

A second "truth" is that innovations are the result of the accumulation of little improvements, rather than great inventions which have made someone famous. Spiller[3] has estimated that 95 percent of technological progress falls into this category. Related to this is the concept of simultaneous inventions and "an idea whose time has come." Thorndike[4] has said that "the mother of invention is not necessity; it is the knowledge of other people's inventions." This relates to the cumulative effect of discrete innovations mentioned earlier and has implications for any change process which involves basic social issues,

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[1]Carlson, "School Superintendents," ed. Miles, Innovations, pp. 329-41.

[2]Havelock et al, Planning for Innovation, p. (10-4). The sender may be the change agent, some other individual or a group and may come from inside or outside of the organization. The receiver is usually a member of the organization who is in a position to utilize the new knowledge to implement change.

[3]George Spiller, "The Dynamics of Greatness," Social Review, 21 (1929): 218-32.

[4]Edward L. Thorndike, Original Nature of Men, (New York: Teachers College, Columbia Univ. Bur. of Pub. 33 (1913): 409-13; Watson, Psychology of Social Change, p. 545.

such as sex discrimination. The choice of solution may be influenced by a variety of factors.

Choosing the solution is in the fourth position of Havelock's model. The last position - application of solution - relates to development of strategies and resistance to change. These are discussed in separate sections below. The first subject is reducing resistance.

Resistance to Change

Once the solution has been defined, strategy and persuasion become the central issues. Lewin[1] described the development of resistance to change in terms of counter force. The device which deals with this is called force field analysis. The field develops around the area of change. Forces driving toward the goal are met with counter forces which may result in a temporary balance. This quasi-stationary-equilibrium may appear as a rigid, immobile social condition. The value of the force analysis depends on the accuracy with which the forces, for and against the change, are identified. The direction, strength, and saliency of influences should be considered in analyzing the situation. Experience has shown that persons are often mistaken about the amount of support or opposition they attribute to others. This is an important consideration in developing strategies. Activity should be carefully analyzed and not based on intuition.

Another consideration in force analysis is that increased pressure toward the goal may not bring about the desired change. Persuasion, threats, and coercion may alert the opposition, who will bring to bear

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[1]Kurt Lewin, Field Theory in Social Science (New York: Harper & Bros., 1951), pp. 199-207.

counter-arguments, counter-inducements, and counter-coercion. The preferable strategy is to find ways to reduce the resistance.

Osgood's[1] theory of "graduated reciprocation" reinforces this notion of reducing resistance and applies equally to individuals or to broad segments of society. In historic periods of conflict, such as the centuries of religious wars, there was overt conflict but no real change in positions. When both sides relaxed the pressures and counter-pressures, tension diminished but positions did not change. Moslems, for example, did not embrace Christianity in any large numbers, nor did Christians turn to Allah. Beliefs that are steeped in tradition are highly resistant to change.

This has a strong bearing on sex discrimination. Hunt[2] pointed out that the inequality of sex roles is older, deeper, and more widespread than discrimination based on class or race. He quoted one feminist as saying that "Woman was the earliest domestic animal of man." The sociologist, Wirth,[3] compared women's position to that of minority status, which he defined in terms of subordinate status, rather than as a percentage of the population. Statistically, women are seldom a numerical minority, but there is a noticeable parallel between race and sex discrimination. In a study conducted for the Carnegie Corporation,

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[1]Charles E. Osgood, An Alternative to War or Surrender (Urbana, Ill.: Univ. of Ill. Press, 1962), pp. 6-9.

[2]Morton M. Hunt, The Natural History of Love (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1959), pp. 379-88.

[3]Remark attributed to Louis Wirth by Ralph Linton, Cultural Background of Personality (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1945), p. 347.

Myrdal[1] found twenty-three items of similarity between race and sex discrimination. In a later study he identified eleven forms of prejudice practiced on workers in the lower socio-economic classes; nine of which are also applied to women. Each of these prejudicial barriers contribute to the forces against change in the status of those discriminated against. As a result, women have a combination of class and racial discrimination to circumvent. The key word here is "circumvent," as opposed to counteract. Bennis, Benne, and Chin[2] expanded this notion - of circumventing the obstacle - into the broader concept of the transactional process.

In a continuum, from one-way communication to a transactional model, a broad range of views have been expressed by behavioral scientists. Watson[3] focused on the individual's resistance to change efforts, whereas Bauer[4] claimed that the target system is crucial to change. He focused on motives, drives, and expectations. Klein[5] went further into the transaction and identified the role of the defender in

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[1]Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Row) 2 (1962, revised): 1144-80. For further documentation regarding the differential in the levels of achievement and success attained by men and women, and the factors accounting for the differences, see Caroline Bird and Sara Welles Briller, Born Female: The High Cost of Keeping Women Down (New York: David McKay Co., Inc., 1968), pp. 137-56.

[2]Warren G. Bennis, Kenneth D. Benne and Robert Chin, Planning of Change, 2d ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969), p. 487.

[3]Watson, Social Psychology, p. 535.

[4]Raymond A. Bauer, "Obstinate Audience: The Influence Process from the Point of View of Social Communication," American Psychologist vol. 9, no. 5 (May 1964), pp. 319-28.

[5]Donald Klein, "Some Notes on the Dynamics of Resistance to Change: The Defender Role," Bennis, Benne and Chin, Planning, pp. 503-05.

the change process. The defender sensitizes the receiver to the limitations of the new knowledge. Klein suggested that the defender is responsible for preparing a more basic commitment to the change by providing for realistic expectations. Obtaining commitment is usually considered an essential strategy in the change process.

In the final section of this chapter strategies are examined in logical progression within the change process. This is prefaced by a brief review of the philosophy of change in relation to the individual and society.

Strategies for Change

The generally low capacity to guide societal change can be traced analytically to deficiencies in control processes and to the lack of consensus, according to Etzioni.[1] Consensus must be constructed and without effective mechanisms to build it, the potential for agreement may not be realized. Obvious inconsistencies may be overlooked in assuming that consensus has been reached; for example, conflicts may exist in common goals. This is illustrated in the famous statement made by the king of Austria. He said that he and the ruler of Spain both wanted the same thing, "we both want Milan." Inherent in this statement is another important consideration, that of individuality.

MacIver[2] claimed that the individual is never wholly absorbed in his society, wholly responsive to it, or wholly accounted for by it. "The individual is a self-directing unit, with some degree of autonomy."

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[1]Amitai Etzioni, Active Society (New York: Free Press, 1968), pp. 430, 469.

[2]Robert M. MacIver, The Web of Government (New York: Free Press, 1965), p. 412.

Change strategies must account for both individual responses and the broader currents of society. Etzioni[1] referred to societal participation as "the other side of increased responsiveness." In providing the conditions for mobilization of its members, society helps to unlock the combinations formed by the impact of past events, to remove accumulated distortions, and to provide for less costly accommodation to the new environment.

Auerback[2] cited an example of this interrelationship and the influence of societal roles in terms of the power elite and labor votes in Pittsburgh. He described the power elite as having shed its blatant ostentatiousness, its violence, and its disregard for civic and community welfare. He claimed that the elite had become sensitive of its public image, it no longer engaged in "...diatribes against social security, labor unions, communism, or the 'welfare state'." Community leadership became more closely linked with the welfare of the total community - "True, it still carries a big stick, but it speaks softly."

Prevailing societal roles have an impact on the various organizations in society, particularly on government agencies. As power elites in the external environment become more responsive to civic and community welfare, a similar attitude may be expected within the power structure of government agencies. This leads to the notion of power and authority and its place in the change process.

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[1]Etzioni, Active Society, p. 8.

[2]Arnold J. Auerback, "Power and Progress in Pittsburgh," Trans-Action 2 (Sept. - Oct. 1965): 20.

Barnard[1] claimed that the determination of authority lies with the subordinate individual. The reason that it is possible to secure cooperation from subordinates is due to the conditions under which authority is applied. For an order to be obeyed it must be understood, believed, perceived as consistent with personal motives, and the receiver must be capable of complying with the order. If these conditions are not met, authority breaks down. But in addition, orders are acceptable within a "zone of indifference" in each individual and the stability of this zone is maintained by group influence. This defines legitimate authority, which is based on mutual understanding and compromise, and the desire to achieve common ends and to further the common goal. This, and other kinds of power, must be understood by those concerned with managing change. French and Raven[2] described five bases of power and their relationship to the change process. These are (1) legitimate power, which refers to the obligation of duty that a subordinate owes a supervisor, (2) reward power, which refers to the perception of another's power to give or withhold rewards, (3) coercive power, which stems from the perception of another's ability to punish, (4) expert power, which is defined as the ability to influence because of superior knowledge, and (5) referent power, which is related to attraction or identification of one person to another. The first three powers may be vested in the change agent through the organization structure. However, these alone are seldom enough to accomplish change. The agent must be able

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[1]Chester Barnard, Functions of the Executive (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1947), pp. 167-81.

[2]John R. P. French, Jr. and Betram Raven, "The Basis of Social Power," ed. Darwin Cartwright, Studies in Social Power (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Institute for Social Research (1959), pp. 150-67.

to demonstrate the technical knowledge and expertise to bring about the change. In addition, the process will probably flow more smoothly if participants like the change agent as a person.

The approach the change agent takes has been outlined by Mann and Neff[1] as a multi-phase system. The first of the five phases relates to the "steady state" or the condition of the organization before change. It is necessary to examine the environment to determine the lines of communication, the key posts, the formal and informal leaders, and the various other elements which may affect or be affected by the change. Etzioni[2] discussed these various elements in terms of the social system, which he viewed as a process. He conceptualized the process as consisting of four subsystems, "devoted to the functional needs of the organization." These were defined as (1) adoptive, which is the need of the system to control the environment, (2) goal-attainment, which provides for the gratification of the system's goal, (3) solidaric, which refers to maintenance of solidarity among the system's units, and (4) normative, which deals with reinforcement of the integrity of the value system and its institutions.

In addition to the subsystems he also classified the roles of the actors. These he classified broadly into elites and nonelites. Elites are persons who specialize in initiating, directing, and regulating activities of the social system. Pareto[3] referred to elites as

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[1]Mann and Neff, Managing Major Change, p. 3

[2]Amitai Etzioni, Studies in Social Change (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1966), pp. 9, 10.

[3]Vilfredo Pareto, Mind and Society: A Treatise on General Sociology, 4 vols. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.), 1 (1969): 169-70.

"'activity persons', who are always in a state of slow and continuous transformation."

Kaplan[1] discussed another aspect of the environment which should be analyzed before change is introduced. He said that the "essential rules" of the organization must be identified. He described essential rules as the forms of behavior that maintain the equilibrium conditions of the systems. Once the desired change has taken place it is necessary to re-establish a "steady state."[2] Knowledge of the essential rules guiding the organization before the change will assist the change agent in bringing about a new balance, or state of equilibrium, after the change.

The second phase in the change process is the recognition of a need for change. This is the period when events or conditions are perceived as dissatisfying to the point that members of the organization are motivated to search for new arrangements. It is at this stage that the problem is identified. The investigation, undertaken by the change agent, generally involves a review of records for collecting relevant data and discussions with various individuals or groups in the organization, especially the elites.

During this phase the change agent must reinforce his or her influence, thus establishing the legitimacy of the role. Kelman[3]

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[1]Morton A. Kaplan, Systems and Process in International Politics (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1957), pp. 9, 10. Kaplan's "essential rules" deal with systems structure. He is not referring to operational rules, which are frequently altered by the change.

[2]Lewin refers to this as "refreezing the structure."

[3]Herbert C. Kelman, "Compliance, Identification, and Internalization: Three Processes of Attitude Change," Journal of Conflict Resolution 2 (1958): 51-60.

discussed the importance of power at this stage. In particular, he stressed the importance of the sender (or change agent) in establishing credibility and influence through expertise and attractiveness. Resistance or apathy can set in unless the receiver (clients in the organization) desire to continue the sender-receiver relationship.

Once the problem has been identified it is useful to quantify it, in order to determine the nature and degree of change involved. This leads into phase three of the process - planning the change. In addition to clarifying the problem, objectives must be defined. Pareto, and Mann and Neff,[1] stressed the need to set realistic expectations regarding change. This is particularly pertinent in Federal employment. Mann and Neff cautioned that implementation of policy is less direct than the statement of policy. Pareto warned that "effects do not follow immediately on their cause."

During this phase alternative courses of action must also be developed and reviewed, strategies must be identified and developed, and the necessary skills for implementing change must be identified and developed. Kaplan[2] explained the need for "rules of transformation" at this stage. Transformation rules provide linkage between the starting state of the system and the change it undergoes when it becomes unstable.

Linkage is an important concept in managing change. It assists

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[1]Pareto, Mind and Society, 4: 1680-82; Mann and Neff, Managing Major Change, p. 31.

[2]Kaplan, International Politics, pp. 9-10.

in establishing a basic condition for acceptance, which Sikes[1] describes as "increasing ownership of the change concept." Watson[2] said that one of the most successful strategies for increasing pressure toward a goal, and for simultaneously reducing resistance, is spreading participation throughout the organization. People enjoy and affirm the changes they make for themselves; they resist changes imposed on them by others. The "N.I.H." factor (not invented here) operates against proposals coming from "outsiders." This is one reason why the change agent should be well accepted and perceived as a power figure before change strategies are implemented.

The notion of "outsider" introduces a problem that the change agent must recognize. One of the liabilities of reform movements is that participation in planning is often limited to those already in favor of change. This can set up an unproductive win-lose condition. Miles[3] said that when possible it is well to set up a temporary system to maximize the opportunity for persons to work together and learn the new ways. For example, in reducing prejudicial barriers it would be helpful to arrange workshops away from the regular work environment. Temporary workshops, such as T groups, were not explored for this study. It seemed unlikely that management would provide such opportunities at this time.

However, some of the group roles discussed by Miles were thoroughly researched, particularly the leadership role. Participation of the

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[1]Walter Sikes, interview held during meeting at Walden University, Summer Community, Palm Beach, Florida, July 1975.

[2]Watson, Social Psychology, p. 643.

[3]Miles, Innovations in Education, p. 643.

many does not preclude strong leadership. Guest[1] reported an impressive demonstration of leadership influence during a change process in a factory. He found that the changes established by forceful leadership were accepted by the workers and continued to remain in effect after the initiator had been promoted to another area. He attributed the continuing effect to the strong leadership during the change process.

As indicated earlier, support of informal leaders should be established early. However, a number of authors have stressed that support must also be obtained from top management. Griffiths[2] has stated, as one of his propositions, that change in organizations "tends to occur from the top down, not from the bottom up."

Berke[3] began his program of change in a hospital by gaining the support of the President of the Board. He claimed that without this backing administrators would have been reluctant to propose his change program.

Gaining the support of top management and developing the other necessary skills for implementing change are activities which Mann and Neff[4] placed in the third phase of the change process. These can be summarized as creating a favorable environment for change.

In the fourth phase, action steps are taken to execute the change. In addition, methods are developed for assessing progress, and change

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[1]Robert H. Guest, Organizational Change: the Effect of Successful Leadership (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1962), pp. 154-60.

[2]Griffiths, "Administration Theory," ed. Miles, Innovations, p. 435.

[3]Mark Berke, "Planning for Change," Journal of American Hospital Association vol. 39, no. 7 (1963): 26-30.

[4]Mann and Neff, Managing Major Change, p. 3.

is replanned, if necessary. Bennis[1] described a survey-feedback approach in which objective information was obtained and knowledge of results was used to create involvement and participation in further planning. The survey-feedback approach was utilized in order to broaden and increase commitment through active participation in the research process.

Beckhard[2] suggested similar activity as the first step in executing change. However, he collected data through informal, nonstructured interviews, then presented the coded data in discussion groups at off-site locations. Some means of communicating the results must be established in all cases. In this study a more modest approach had to be taken, for the reasons indicated earlier.

In discussing the views of various authors, Bennis[3] observed that both change agents and clients play a variety of roles. He enumerated client roles as "subject, initiator and planner, client, and participant-researcher." The change agent in this study had to assume several client roles, since management had not requested the change program. In fact, prior to the introduction of the program, there was no clear indication that management was cognizant of sex discrimination in the subject agencies. The communication function posed a particular problem because lines of communication had to be established outside of the existing network. This is discussed more fully in Chapter III.

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[1]Warren G. Bennis, Changing Organizations (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1966), p. 123.

[2]Richard Beckhard, "Helping a Group with Planned Change," ed. John R. Gibb and Ronald Lippitt, Journal of Social Issues 15 (1959): 13-19.

[3]Bennis, Changing Organizations, pp. 114-15.

The final phase of the change process has been described by a variety of terms. Lewin[1] referred to it as "refreezing" the structure of the organization. The essential function is the stabilization of change. This stage deals with the actions that must be taken to consolidate and reinforce the patterns of behavior which are required under the new system; a new equilibrium must be developed. Cannon[2] warned that old ways may be resumed in a kind of social homeostasis, a "back to normalcy," because systems seek to preserve stability. They are designed to operate in a fairly stable equilibrium, with interlocking functions and feedback set to continue the customary activities. However, once the new patterns have become firmly entrenched, the tendency to maintain equilibrium helps to stabilize the change. Lewin[3] has suggested that the final stage takes about one year.

Summary

This chapter summarized the literature research on change theory and the nature of prejudice. It provided background for later chapters and identified the sequence of strategies which were developed for the change process. In addition, it provided some notion of the pervasive nature of prejudice, which was seminal to the study problem.

As defined in this chapter, prejudice is more than the semantic conception of the term. An operational definition was developed by working through the various theories presented in the literature. The

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[1]Kurt Lewin, Field Theory, pp. 229-233.

[2]Walter B. Cannon, Wisdom of the Body (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1932), pp. 311-320.

[3]Lewin, Field Theory, pp. 46-56.

definition utilizes the eclectic approach, which is based on a multiple causation theory. Various factors were explored in relation to the primary emphasis of the study - prejudicial barriers to career development for women in Federal employment. The section closed with a brief chronicle of the feminist movement, as illustrated by the issues which appeared in newspaper headlines over the years. These are shown in Figures 3-5.

In the final section of the chapter, the structure of the change process, the development of change strategies, and the relationship of the change agent to the client system were discussed within the context of a conceptual model and a multi-phase operational scheme.

Since the problem addressed in this study involved deep-seated socio-cultural issues, an interdisciplinary approach was taken in the literature research. The research covered such areas as public administration, law, organizational theory, economics, international politics, anthropology, psychology, sociology, philosophy, and other fields. This broad background was utilized in the development of the strategies which are discussed in Chapter III.

III. METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURES - POLICY RESEARCH

This chapter provides general background for the empirical research in the study and describes the methodology and procedures used in the policy research.

General Background

Two types of action research were conducted in the study. The first was policy research, which is covered in this chapter. The second type, evaluation research, is described in Chapter IV. A diagramatic view of the combined effort appears below.

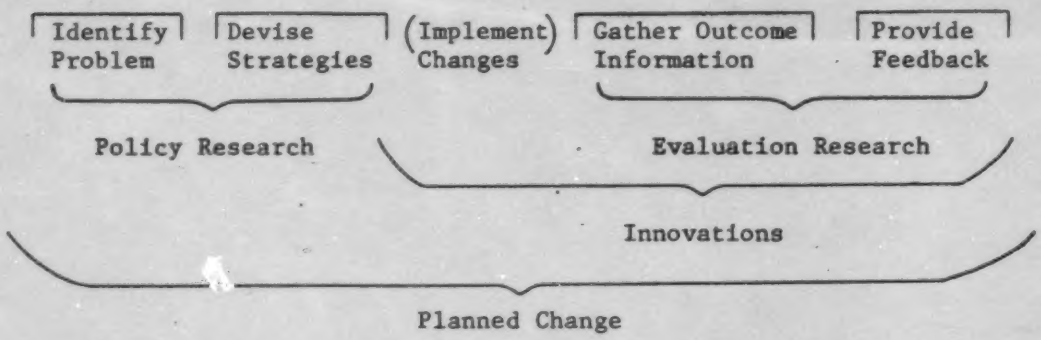

Figure 9. Types of action research, showing the interrelationships within planned change. (Diagram prepared by B. Francis for use at Walden University Summer Residency Session, July 1975.)

The purpose of the research was to bring about planned change, in order to alleviate the problem of prejudicial barriers to career advancement for women in the study agencies. The internal and external environments that impacted on the study are described below. This is

followed by a discussion of the strategies and tactics used in the policy research.

The Study Environment

In the study agencies, administrative functions, including personnel and Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) activities, were handled by a higher level organization. Therefore, in eliciting support from top management it was necessary to gain commitment from the chief of the administrative organization, as well as the directors and assistant directors of the two agencies. In fact, initial commitment from the Chief Administrator was perceived as imperative for implementation of the change process.

Personnel Division

The Personnel Division had a conservative philosophy and was geared to serving management without much regard for individual employees. This observation is supported later in the chapter, in the discussion on counter forces. There were several minority employees in the Personnel Division who, it was believed, might be activated if sex discrimination were combined with minority discrimination. However, the women's representative in Personnel - a black woman - was perceived as functionally negative by several members of the women's group. (This group is discussed later.) The author had a similar perception of the woman and felt that she could not be utilized as a communication link with Personnel. Instead, linkage was established through the Chief of the Employee Development Branch, who could see positive opportunities for his branch as a result of the change. He was a white male, who had both knowledge and experience in change theory and action

research.

Management philosophy and attitudes

More than 96 percent of top management was male; there were three women at grade levels GS 16 and above. Throughout both agencies, the prevailing attitude was that women are inferior and that a work project needs a male overseer. For example, a woman branch chief might have a male from another branch overseeing her work. Quantitative evidence of discrimination is provided later in the chapter.

The organizational structure was not unusual. However, the agencies were relatively small, containing about 500 and 2500 employees, respectively, with a large percentage of professionals in each. The agencies were administratively divided into forty-eight divisions. The field and major clerical operations were geographically decentralized. These two divisions were treated as out-of-scope, leaving forty-six divisions in the study.

Social organizations and actors

A small union, which represented less than 30 percent of the employees, had potential utility in the change process, but in practice had minor impact. Of greater importance was a small women's organization, whose membership ranged from fifty to eighty-five persons, with about 25 percent actively participating. This organization played a major role in the change process. There were several elites in the group, including about one-third of the (nine-person) executive board. The group had representation on the Equal Employment Opportunity Board, which was not a viable channel for the change process, because it was bureaucratically oriented and reflected the conservative attitude of

the Personnel Division.

An important elite was the Equal Employment Opportunity Officer. He had regular access to the chief of the administrative organization and was an experienced, sophisticated official. He appeared to be willing to cooperate in bringing about change, providing the activity did not interfere with his first priority - increasing opportunities for blacks.

The author - a branch chief, GS 14, in one of the technical divisions - functioned as a change agent, change catalyst, communication link, and in various other roles.

The external environment that impacted on the study was essentially other government agencies and related groups of which the author was a member or served a network function. Among these was FEW (Federally Employed Women), with headquarters in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Model for Policy Research

As in most organizations, the on-going social processes in the study agencies encouraged a steady continuation of existing arrangements. Included in these processes were the selection of candidates for promotion, the selection of employees for management training courses, and the procedure for announcing vacancies in professional positions. These processes were the targets toward which change effort was directed. A conceptual model of the interplay of forces and changing levels of the targets during the policy research period is shown in Figure 10.[1]

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[1]The model concept is adapted from Mann and Neff, Managing Major Change, pp. 25-30.

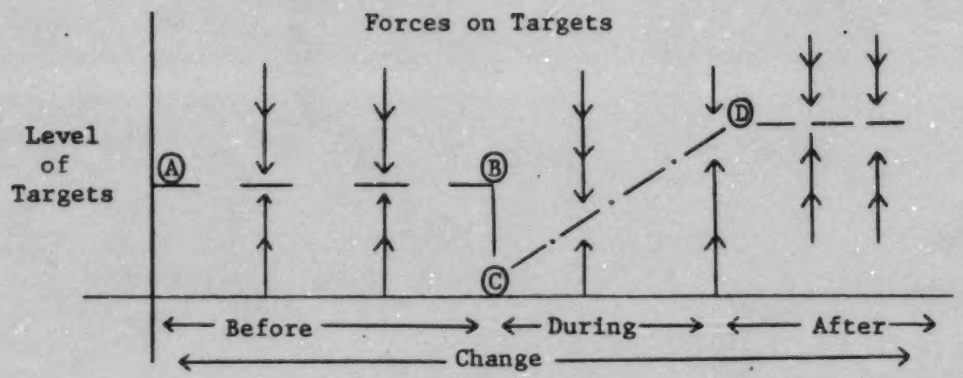

Figure 10. Forces pressing on the targets as factors in the change process.

In the model, the targets are shown at varying levels - before, during, and after change. At the after-change level, processes are in the desired position for alleviating the study problem. The levels are determined by the social and technological pressures impacting on the work environment. As change is introduced at point Ⓑ, pressures resisting the change are greater than pressures for the change and the system enters a state of disequilibrium. Over the period, Ⓒ through Ⓓ, forces against change weaken and pressures for change build up. At point Ⓓ a state of equilibrium is reached and the targets are stabilized at the new, desired level.

In terms of policy research, strategies are developed during the Ⓐ - Ⓑ period and tactics are applied during the Ⓒ - Ⓓ period. The evaluation research begins at point Ⓓ, although the processes of evaluation, feedback, and reassessment of strategies are continuous throughout the change period.

Strategies for Change - Methodology

The policy research was conducted over a period of seven months. It was initiated by dissatisfaction within the system, as expressed by the women's organization. In response to this felt need, a preliminary review of women's status in the agencies was undertaken. The results of this introductory information gathering and the strategies developed for action research are described below.

Identifying the Nature and Scope of the Problem

An investigation of the status of women was undertaken in the two agencies. This included a precursory check of public access records, such as the EEO Plan. Prior studies on discrimination were reviewed, including a records check made in 1974 by the EEO Task Force on the Status of Women. Informal discussions were held with about twenty women, selected at random, and with some management persons and other elites. In addition, the author attended meetings of the women's group and other agency organizations. This information gathering stage lasted about three weeks.

The records[1] showed that over 70 percent of positions in grades 1-8 were occupied by women. However, a variety of opportunities were open to them. These included programs in clerical and secretarial skills, general education development, machinist apprentice, and professional career training. In addition, the upward mobility program was being redesigned in an innovative manner. Thus, a change process

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[1]Data in this chapter is from an internal bulletin prepared by Personnel Division and circulated in the study agencies on June 30, 1974, and from the EEO Task Force Report, dated December 3, 1974. These documents are available on request.

was already in effect in these grades.

It also appeared that the recruitment program was being carried out in a responsive manner. More than 39 percent of positions in the professional grade series 9 through 12 were occupied by women. However, women in grade 12 positions expressed frustration and dissatisfaction over their chances for promotion. Furthermore, the records showed that less than 16 percent of positions in grades 13 and above were filled by women. The problem of prejudicial barriers to career advancement of women appeared to begin with promotions into the first competitive professional level; that is, from grade 12 to grade 13. Therefore, women in grade 12 positions were selected as the target population for the study.

Possible solutions emerged as the problem was diagnosed. In the informal discussions, two barriers were frequently identified by the women. These were (1) lack of communication about job vacancies, and (2) lack of management training opportunities. Alleviation of these two barriers were the targets defined for the study.

Creating a Favorable Environment for Change

Before change can be effectively implemented, a climate for change must be created. Usually this starts with visible support of the change process by leaders in the organization. In the study agencies, power was centered in the Chief Administrator. Without his support elites would be reluctant to assume active roles in the change process. Therefore, the next activity was to obtain visible support from the Chief Administrator. The strategy decided on was to identify an on-going procedure which was related to the problem of sex discrimination.

This issue had to be sufficiently controversial so that a policy change would convey top management's support of the women's movement, but not so controversial that the change would generate strong hostility toward women employees. An issue was identified and a policy statement secured. This is described in the procedures section.

Obtaining Quantifiable Evidence of the Problem

As stated earlier, when the problem was diagnosed, solutions began to emerge. These solutions (targets) were examined in terms of Lewin's force field, to determine the likelihood of significantly changing the forces that were holding the targets in equilibrium.[1] Having designed a plan and developed tactics, it was necessary to quantify the evidence of the problem and evaluate the plan to determine if the selected processes were still the best targets.

The plan was to present quantifiable evidence of the problem in a manner that would activate change in the targets without arousing strong counter-forces. The tactics are described in the procedures section. The evidence was obtained by personal interviews, using a structured instrument which was designed to collect verbatim responses on discrimination and remedial action.

Population and design

There were 156 women at the grade 12 level in the study agencies and the administrative unit. Of these, 5 were in the two divisions excluded from the study. Another 27 were considered out-of-scope because

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[1]The technique of force field analysis developed by Kurt Lewin was described earlier (Chapter II, pp. 44-45). This technique was used repeatedly throughout the study and later is referred to as "the force field."

they were on extended leave, temporary duty assignments elsewhere, or otherwise not available to respond to promotional or training opportunities offered by the agencies. Therefore, there were 124 eligible persons in the target population. The full universe was surveyed, rather than a sample, in order to establish benchmarks for continuing studies and for definitive evaluation.

Data collection techniques and the instrument

The questionnaire was designed to provide data on promotional opportunities for which the respondent was eligible. This was controlled by the skip pattern. For example, persons who were in grade 12 less than one year were not eligible for promotion and therefore were not asked questions about recent promotional opportunities.

The questionnaire was pretested in the agencies for internal consistency, design logic, and relevancy of item content. A copy of the final version appears in appendix I.

Interviewers were selected from volunteers throughout the agencies. They were all women who had some experience with statistical studies. An interviewer introduction sheet was provided, in addition to brief oral instructions on interviewing techniques and interpretation of questionnaire items. The introduction sheet appears in appendix II.

There were fifteen interviewers. The assignments ranged from six to fourteen interviews, in one to three divisions. No interviewer had an assignment in the division in which she worked. One interviewer failed to complete her assignment. It was reassigned to an interviewer who had also functioned as a crew leader - distributing and controlling

the assignments.

About three-fourths of the interviews were conducted in person; the rest were by telephone or a form was mailed for self-enumeration at the respondent's request. Interviewing was completed in three weeks. There was one refusal.[1] In all cases respondents were encouraged to add relevant information, especially in the open-ended questions on discrimination (item 13), and remedial action (item 12).

Editing and tabulation of data

Interviewers were instructed to edit and correct the questionnaire before ending the interview. The edit included a completion check, to see that all applicable items had been asked, and a consistency check, to see that responses between items were appropriate. This was the only possible follow-up of errors and omissions since the respondent was not identified on the questionnaire.

Data were tabulated manually. Items omitted in error were coded as NA (data not ascertainable). Because of the uniqueness of response and the size of the sample, imputation was not attempted and the data were not adjusted for noninterviews.[2]

The tabulated data appear in appendix III. Various kinds of cross-tabulations were considered. However, disclosure became a major problem. A respondent might be identifiable if a data cell reflected

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[1]This person was scheduled to retire in two months. She expressed fear that her supervisor might retaliate, by disrupting her retirement plans, if he found that she had participated in the survey. Fear of retaliation was frequently expressed by respondents.

[2]A field edit is not expected to result in a perfectly completed questionnaire. Final errors and omissions are usually identified in a computer edit and averages or some other form of predetermined data are imputed.

fewer than three persons. In the study there were one hundred and twenty-four respondents from forty-six divisions. At least half of the divisions employed less than three respondents. Even cross-tabulation by employees under each associate director resulted in suppression of a large number of cells, which greatly reduced dramatic characteristics in the data. Therefore, plans for cross-tabulations were abandoned. In addition, no weighting procedures were needed since the sample consisted of the full population.

Increasing Ownership of the Change Concept

As a number of authors have pointed out, one of the most successful strategies for increasing pressure toward the goal and for simultaneously reducing resistance, is the use of broad participation and involvement. This is particularly important when the change affects basic employment practices and challenges deep-seated attitudes. In response to this, an investment of time and expertise in the change concept and processes was widely solicited throughout the agencies.

Interviewers were selected from as many divisions as possible, to avoid the N.I.H. factor.[1] The instrument was designed and reviewed by the questionnaire design experts in one of the agencies, and then circulated for comments to most of the other divisions. Suggestions for survey content were solicited from various groups both in the study agencies and in other Federal organizations. Whenever possible, suggestions were utilized and credit openly ascribed. Tabulation format and processes were discussed with various processing personnel and the

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[1]This refers to resistance to "outsiders," or the "Not Invented Here" reaction, discussed in Chapter II.

responsibility for data codification, classification, and summary was delegated to one of the experts.

Official organizations and leaders were utilized whenever possible. Credit for change was given to these groups and persons. Personal gain or credit was scrupulously avoided by the change agent. As will be seen in the procedures section, broad involvement can create a control problem, but inappropriate events may be redirected into positive channels. Strategies were kept flexible. Rigid blueprints were avoided, in recognition of the dynamic nature of action research.

Effectively Communicating the Problem and Proposed Solutions

Before change can be effectively implemented, those involved must clearly understand the problem and, to some degree, accept the change. Thus it was decided to broadcast the findings of the empirical research through both oral and written presentations in order to reach as many persons as possible.

Three other elements of the communication process were addressed. These were (1) the composition of the audience - at whom should the various types of communication be directed? (2) the media - what form of communication would be most effective in gaining the attention of the various components of the audience? and (3) stimulus object reaction - how could the audience be moved to receive the communication and to react toward it in some positive fashion?

It was recognized from the start that the Chief Administrator must be reached, as well as the other official leaders. It wasn't likely that these persons would attend an oral presentation. Therefore, they would have to be reached through written communication. Thus some

form of written report was planned.

The next step was to decide who should receive the report. The audience should be sufficiently limited so the report had status value. However, persons who could substantively influence the change process had to be reached. Thus it was decided to limit the report to the chief of the administrative unit, agency directors, associate and assistant directors, and division chiefs. A few others were given the report for reward or motivational purposes. After these persons had been reached, copies were circulated to the rest of the employees. These were Xerox copies, not packaged reports. The report audience posed another problem, which was related to the second element mentioned above. Communication addressed to top level officials is subject to a selecting-out process. The report had to be packaged in such a fashion that it would reach top officials and be read by them.

In response to the third element cited above, solutions were proposed, along with methods for implementing them. These involved the targets mentioned earlier. At this point it was crucial for policy makers to accept the problem as worthy of their attention and to consider the change worth the disequilibrium it would cause. Tactics were developed in response to this.

Persons who were adversely affected by the change had to be convinced that resistance would be counter-productive. This required stronger pressures than top management approval; sanctions against interference were needed. This could take the form of group disapproval, which would be particularly effective if it could be generated by the report. A means was found to accomplish this, while at the same time enhancing interest in the report. Similarly, the timing and

content of the oral presentation were designed to arouse curiosity.

Selectivity was exercised so that the data increased interest without detracting from the freshness of the report. Tactics included strategic leaks and use of unofficial lines of communication for assuring a large audience. These, and tactics for implementing the other strategies, are described in the next section.

Tactics for Implementing Change - Procedures

In planning action research, the first step can be clearly identified. The next step can be designed, but with less certainty for implementation. This is so because each succeeding step builds on the previous one, and in social research you cannot be certain how people will react. Thus, in the study tactics were developed step by step, but at each point beyond the first one, they were subject to alteration and reassessment.

In this section, planned tactics are described which were later altered or adjusted in response to reconnaissance of on-going processes. Response to major changes in the organization structure are covered in Chapter IV.

Policy Change Related to Sex Discrimination

As stated earlier, before addressing the problem, a search was made for an on-going procedure related to sex discrimination. A policy statement, reversing that procedure, would serve to convey top management support of the women's movement. As with other tactics, an effort was made to select a timely issue and utilize materials on-hand in the agencies. The issue chosen was the use of the generic term "he".

An agency manual had just been printed in which "he" was used in

all chapters except the one on errors. The pronoun "she" was used in that chapter.

The author contacted the Chief Administrator and requested a policy statement on the use of "person" in agency literature. It was pointed out that the pronoun "he" was used arbitrarily, not as a generic term.

The desired policy statement was issued. Thus, the status of women was officially recognized by top management and, to some degree, the Chief Administrator was committed to the change process.

In terms of the force field, there was no resistance from the Chief Administrator, but pressures were activated from another source. In response to the request, the Chief Administrator had instructed the author to draft a policy statement, jointly with the EEO Officer. The EEO Officer gave the assignment to three minority women, who turned the statement into an endorsement of minority activity and relegated the women's movement to the level of trivia. It included phrases such as "...this is a trivial thing in terms of the EEO program...." The author met this with strong counter-force, slashing through the offending phrases with red ink and redrafting the statement to accomplish the original objective. In addition, the author made an official appointment with the EEO Officer to present the revisions and express concern over the original distortions. The official statement, released as revised by the author, appears in appendix IV.

This was a situation involving leadership power. In analyzing the force field, the author felt that a show of power was necessary for any continuing relationship with the EEO Officer. Compromise would result in loss of control over the change process, since the man

functioned as "gatekeeper" to the Chief Administrator. This tactic was not always used. In the next section a case of circumventing the obstacle is illustrated.

Quantifying the Problem

The survey of women in grade 12 positions was undertaken, as described earlier. The universe list was obtained from the EEO Officer and the project was described as follow-on activity from the EEO Plan. Personnel Division was not contacted. In examining the force field, it was determined that Personnel Division represented an obstacle which was better circumvented than counteracted. This decision was based on previous encounters between members of Personnel and the women's organization.[1] Members of Personnel used a basic set of strategies, which were applied in sequence. The first was to delay the project. If the group persisted, intimidation was used, and finally, harassment. Therefore, the survey was launched without attempting to gain commitment from Personnel Division.

There was a second reason for ignoring Personnel Division and this related to Lewin's concept of "unfreezing the old structure." In previous encounters, the women's group had always asked permission of Personnel Division to engage in the desired activity. In this project the dominant-submissive mold was broken and Personnel's misuse of

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[1]For example, earlier in the year the women's group requested Personnel Division to offer a course in legal rights for women. This was refused; therefore, the women asked if they could have the course presented at the agency by a local university professor. (The women would pay for the course themselves.) Personnel agreed, then cancelled the course two weeks before the scheduled first class "for technical reasons." The problems were later resolved but the women experienced considerable harassment and anxiety.

gatekeeping powers was challenged. The need for this was described by Lewin:

> Discrimination against minorities (women) will not be changed as long as forces are not changed which determine the decisions of the gatekeepers.... Thus discrimination is basically linked with problems of management, with the actions of gatekeepers who determine what is done and what is not done.[1]

The challenge was openly declared. No attempt was made to conduct the survey surreptitiously. In fact, some of the grade 12 respondents worked in Personnel Division. During the interview phase, Personnel sent word through the EEO Officer to halt the survey. The author responded with a memorandum addressed to the Chief of Personnel with carbon copies to the Chief Administrator and the EEO Officer. The demand to halt the survey was ignored; an offer was made to discuss the survey - as equals; and the respondents' fears of retaliation were described and deplored. Thus, counter-force was combined with circumvention. A copy of the memorandum appears in appendix V.

The survey was completed shortly after the communication interchange described above. In analyzing the results, three main areas were identified in which respondents perceived barriers to career development. These included discriminatory practices and attitudes by management, discrimination in promotion procedures by both Personnel and management supervisors, and discrimination in management training opportunities. The targets identified earlier clearly addressed these issues.

Other measures of the problem are shown in the tabulated data

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[1]Lewin, Field Theory in Social Science, p. 186. Entry in parentheses by this author.

which appear in appendix III. The data show that:

(1) 42 percent of the respondents felt that they had experienced discrimination at some time during their employment in the study agencies. There were forty-four suggestions for removal or enlightment of supervisors who discriminate.

(2) In the most recent job opening for which the respondent was eligible

- over 50 percent had heard about the job after it was filled;
- about 35 percent did not know if they had been considered for the position.

Yet in 65 percent of the cases the vacancy was in the division in which the respondent was employed.

(3) About 30 percent of the respondents requested increased opportunities for management training courses.

The problem of discrimination had been quantified in terms of employee attitudes. The next step was to communicate the findings. The two vehicles - oral briefing and the written report - are described below.

Presentation of Data - Oral Briefing

Arrangements were made to hold an oral briefing of the survey results prior to release of the written report. It was held during lunch hour, as an official meeting of the women's organization, and was advertised in the organization newsletter. Invitations went out through unofficial channels to respondents and persons who had worked on the survey, and to unofficial leaders. In addition, the Chief of Personnel, the Chief of Employee Development Branch, and the EEO Officer were sent

personal invitations from the women's organization. Of these, only the Chief of Employee Development Branch attended. The conference room was filled. About seventy-five persons attended; almost all were white women. At no time did minority women overtly support the change process.[1]

Some highlights of the survey were presented at the briefing and the general perception of discrimination was discussed. Some gross examples of prejudice and management intimidation were quoted verbatim. The whole performance was geared to exciting interest and curiosity in the report.

The presentation was also used to broadcast the fear of retaliation which respondents had expressed during the interviews.

There was immediate indication that the briefing had accomplished its objectives. First, references to the survey were frequently heard in the agencies - at technical meetings, social gatherings, seminars, and the like. In addition, a memorandum was issued by the Chief Administrator that advised employees of their rights in cases of retaliation. (A copy appears in appendix VI.) The memorandum may have been planned before the briefing. If so, it is still reasonable to assume that the climate created by the survey was a contributing factor. In any case, the reaction to the report was more specific.

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[1]Some of the apathy by minority women was probably due to the research conducted in 1973 by the EEO Task Force on the Status of Women (described in Chapter I). Data from that study were broken out by race and the results showed that black women were experiencing greater gains than either white women or black men. Some black women saw research as a threat to future gains.

Presentation and Distribution of the Written Report

As stated earlier, a means was found for exciting top management interest in the report. It came from the data, which showed that the incidence of reported discrimination ranged from none at all in one division to all respondents in another division. The extremes were presented in a cover memorandum attached to the report. The message also contained a hint of legal sanctions. An excerpt appears in Figure 11.

> Subject: Report on Survey of Attitudes Toward Management and Supervision
>
> A recent survey was conducted with women in grade 12 positions in (agencies). The final report is attached.
>
> ...We offer laurels to the Division Chief whose entire staff of women in grade 12 positions feel *they have never been discriminated against.*
>
> ...We offer *[#@%&-000 to the Division Chief whose entire staff of women in grade 12 positions feel *they are presently discriminated against.*
>
> ...We offer a suggestion to all managers and supervisors at (agency)
>
> Under law there are RIGHTS and DUTIES -
>
> *With the right to be a supervisor*
> *Comes the duty to be a good supervisor.*

Figure 11. Cover memorandum transmitted with the Grade 12 Report.

Other measures were taken to make the report readable. For example, the serious message of sex discrimination was couched in verbatim examples that had shock effect, as shown in Figures 12 and 13.

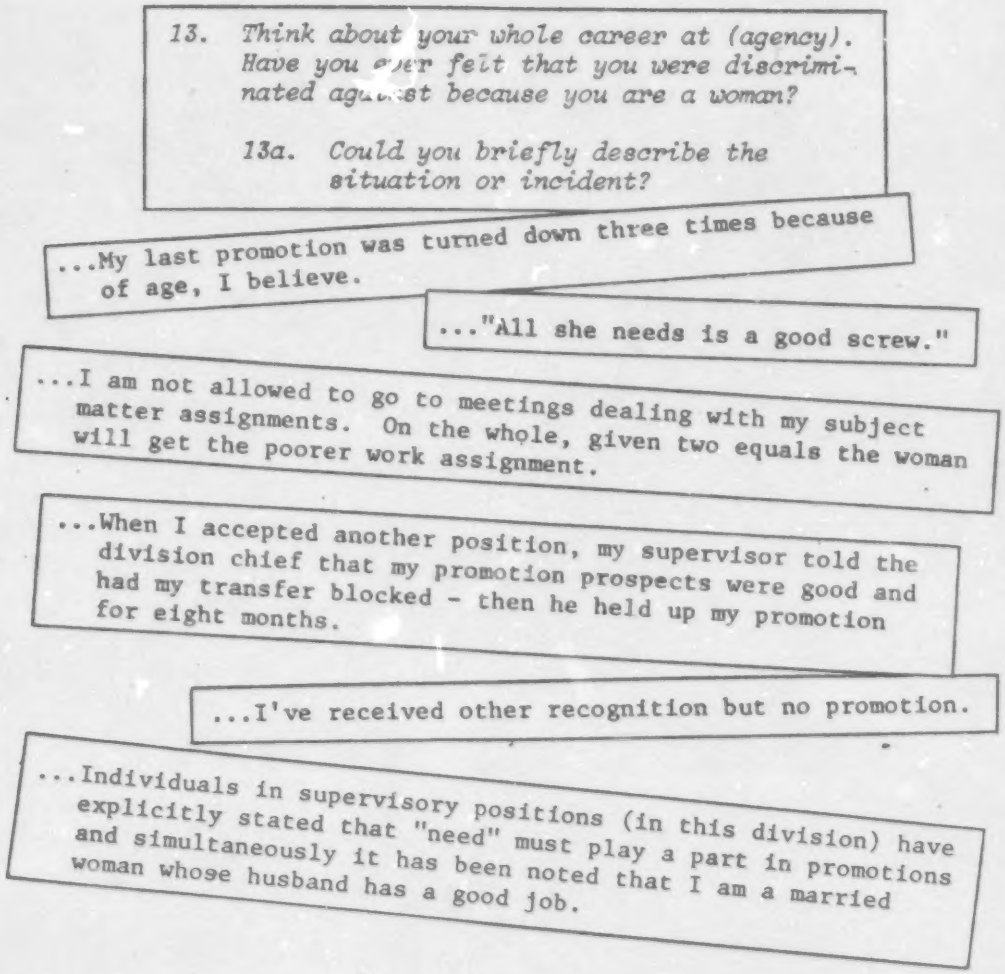
13. Think about your whole career at (agency). Have you ever felt that you were discriminated against because you are a woman?
13a. Could you briefly describe the situation or incident?
...My last promotion was turned down three times because of age, I believe.
..."All she needs is a good screw."
...I am not allowed to go to meetings dealing with my subject matter assignments. On the whole, given two equals the woman will get the poorer work assignment.
...When I accepted another position, my supervisor told the division chief that my promotion prospects were good and had my transfer blocked - then he held up my promotion for eight months.
...I've received other recognition but no promotion.
...Individuals in supervisory positions (in this division) have explicitly stated that "need" must play a part in promotions and simultaneously it has been noted that I am a married woman whose husband has a good job.

Figure 12. Verbatim responses of discrimination reported in the Grade 12 Survey.

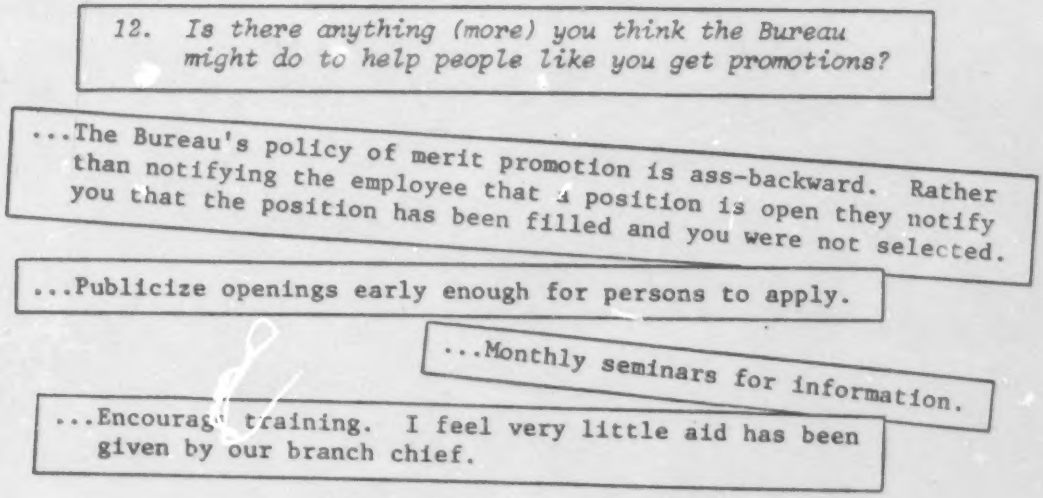
12. Is there anything (more) you think the Bureau might do to help people like you get promotions?
...The Bureau's policy of merit promotion is ass-backward. Rather than notifying the employee that a position is open they notify you that the position has been filled and you were not selected.
...Publicize openings early enough for persons to apply.
...Monthly seminars for information.
...Encourage training. I feel very little aid has been given by our branch chief.

Figure 13. Illustrations of remedial suggestions reported in the Grade 12 Survey.

Positive attitudes toward the agencies were emphasized and examples of discrimination were consciously juxtaposed to convey subtle humor without detracting from the serious nature of prejudice. The focus of the report was on opportunity costs of discrimination and the lack of good management practices inherent in discrimination.

The report was delivered to all seventy-five top management persons at the same time. Their secretaries were informed of this. Later the same day Xerox copies of the report were circulated for other employees to read. A copy of the report appears in appendix VII.

As Pareto warned, effects do not follow immediately on their cause. However, some related action was demonstrated following the distribution of the report. This is discussed in Chapter IV.

Summary

In this chapter a conceptual model of policy research was presented. It shows the positioning of forces which press against targets for change and how these various forces weaken or strengthen during the change process. A brief description was provided of the internal and external environment which impacted on the change process, and the strategies which were developed to carry out the research.

Five strategies were described. The first involved a precursory check of agency records and related studies, and informal interviews. From this, the nature and scope of the problem were established and the study population was identified. In addition, tentative targets for change were selected. The second strategy was to create a favorable climate for change, which was accomplished, in part, by conveying top management approval of the movement against sex discrimination. The problem was quantified by obtaining data on the perception of sex discrimination in the study population, which was defined as all women in grade 12 positions in the study agencies. For this purpose an attitudinal survey was conducted, in which the sample population was the entire universe. The survey was used as a vehicle for the next strategy, which was to increase the ownership of the change concept. Wherever possible the knowledge and expertise of elites, formal and informal leaders, and existing groups or formal organizations were utilized. The final strategy addressed the methodology for communicating the survey findings.

The remainder of the chapter dealt with the tactics used to implement the strategies, including the use of oral briefing and a written report for broadcasting the problem situation based on the

survey findings.

This summarizes the policy research. At the beginning of the chapter a diagramatic view was presented of the two types of action research utilized in the study. The second type was evaluation research, in which outcome information from the implemented changes was fed back into the system to increase the effects of the change process. The evaluation research is described in Chapter IV.

IV. CHANGE ENVIRONMENT, METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURES - EVALUATION RESEARCH

The previous chapter dealt with the policy research conducted in the study. This chapter describes changes in the study environment and the effect of these changes on the evaluation research. In addition, it describes the empirical research, as originally planned, and the records check, observation and feedback that was actually carried out.

Changed Environment

The original study environment was described as consisting of two agencies, and an administrative unit that handled personnel and administrative matters, including EEO. The administrative unit had been created by the previous political administration. Prior to that time the two agencies had functioned as separate entities, directly under the Executive Department. Agency leaders were uncomfortable under the administrative arrangement and, to some extent, resisted the policies of the Chief Administrator. It was also apparent that members of Personnel had chafed under the "open door" policy established by the Chief Administrator, which had diluted their gatekeeping functions.

During the period of the policy research some political changes had occurred in the external environment. These resulted in a major change in the organization of the study agencies and impacted heavily on the change process.

The reorganization occurred about three weeks after the release

of the Grade 12 Report. The administrative unit was dissolved, along with the position of Chief Administrator. Personnel Division and the EEO Office were retained by the larger agency (in which the change agent was employed); these activities were assumed by the Executive Department for the smaller agency. Thus the two agencies were completely separated, as shown in appendix IX.

In terms of the study, centers of power were radically changed and new lines of communication had to be established. Attitudes that previously had been masked, now were openly expressed. For example, hostility toward the smaller agency was freely articulated by the EEO Officer. It was clear that minorities had made little progress in that agency.

A full reassessment of the change process is discussed later in the chapter. The following section describes immediate reaction to the policy research, before the reorganization occurred.

Reaction to the Policy Research

As stated in the previous chapter, some related action was demonstrated following the distribution of the Grade 12 Report. Following are some examples of individual reactions. Many more were noted and most were positive.[1]

- Two division chiefs discussed the report in staff meetings and acknowledged that women were not well represented in management.
- One division chief contacted the EEO Officer and asked for the names of the two divisions referred to in the cover memorandum. The

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[1]The author experienced some disturbance in work relationships with some male branch chiefs and with her immediate supervisor. These are discussed later in the chapter.

man felt that by talking to the chiefs of the two divisions he could be more responsive to the needs of his own employees. (The names of the divisions could not be released because of possible retaliation against the respondents in the division in which all respondents felt discriminated against. And, of course, there was a certain tactical advantage in withholding the identity of the divisions.)

- There were other reactions to the report. The author was appointed to the agency EEO Task Force on the Status of Women and was extensively praised in the newsletter published by the women's group. This latter caused personal jealousies, and showed a lack of appreciation for other participants which adversely affected the change process, particularly the strategy for increasing ownership of the change concept. (The news article came as a surprise to the author. As stated in the previous chapter, wide-spread participation is desirable, but it creates control problems.)

- In one division, two grade 12 women requested a transfer to the author's branch. One was willing to take a grade 9 position. In each case the women were given improved opportunities in their own division. One was told that new work was coming into the division and she would be promoted (to grade 13) to supervise the work. The other woman was transferred to a more congenial branch.

- In one division the chief urged professionals to attend management courses. In the past he had openly ridiculed the courses as "theory management."

- The cover memorandum generated considerable discussion and several male supervisors identified with the discrimination quotations. At least six men explained to the author that they had been quoted out

of context.

Thus, there was evidence that the report had stimulated awareness of the problem. The plan was to accelerate this awareness through a series of discrete activities. To this end, the women's organization sent a memorandum to the Chief Administrator requesting a meeting to discuss the targets. However, before he could respond, the major reorganization occurred that was described earlier.

Adjustment in communication links, reassessment of leaders and power centers, and reconnaissance of the change environment were necessary. The condition of the force field was radically altered. For example, a week after the Chief Administrator left, Personnel contacted the executive board of the women's organization and scheduled a meeting for the next day. Five members of the employee relations branch attended, or more accurately marched into the meeting, carrying a number of administrative manuals. They sternly advised the women that (1) the cover memorandum on the report had been typed on agency letterhead, which was a violation of the organization's right-to-organize contract, and (2) the women must not request a meeting with the Director since it might be construed as a violation of the agency contract with the union. The women were advised that they could request a meeting with the women's representative in Personnel Division and she would handle any further communication.

The tactic was obviously designed to intimidate and it met with some success. Three members of the executive board objected to any communication with the Director since it would antagonize members of Personnel Division. With some persuasion by the change agent, the decision was referred to the full membership. The membership was

advised of the need to "unfreeze" the old (dominant-submissive) structure, and the motion to send the memorandum was approved. A copy of the memorandum appears in appendix VIII.

No reply was received from the Director. Therefore, two weeks later the change agent sent a note to the Director and enclosed a newspaper clipping which referred to poor attendance at Federal management training courses.[1] A draft of the note appears in Figure 14.

8-28-75

To: (Director)

Re the attached. Causey's solution misses the problem. Government training courses go unattended because government managers depreciate, and even ridicule, the enlightened management practices taught in these courses. This agency is an example of the results - management by intimidation and harassment.

- A good illustration is the way Employee Relations reacted when the (women's organization) requested a meeting with you (August 15th memo).
- Good management in Personnel would have seized the opportunity to open up communication and encourage women's professional growth.

Without your visible support, women's efforts will continue to be met by institutionalized discrimination and frustration will continue to mount.

I am writing this as an (agency) employee. I hope you have an open door.

(Author)

Figure 14. Draft of note sent to Director

[1]Mike Causey, "The Federal Diary," Washington Post, Section B, p. 15, August 20, 1975. Mr. Causey suggested that the problem could be resolved by taking attendance at the courses.

An hour after the note was delivered, the Director's secretary called to schedule a meeting with the author and the executive board of the women's group.

The note represented a calculated risk. In terms of the force field, it was clear that members of Personnel Division would apply pressure to re-establish the dominant-submissive posture in dealing with the women's group. Furthermore, the Director's management style appeared to be authoritarian and aloof. He permitted few contacts outside of the chain-of-command. However, there was one notable exception. He had sponsored a futurist-type planning project, in which all levels of employees had been invited to participate. One of his stated objectives was to "open up communication" in the agency. The note was designed to reinforce this notion.

A number of incidents had occurred which made it apparent that the change process would disintegrate without immediate support from top management. For example, the author was given a below-average merit promotion rating on personality, and was told that she was "too aggressive - like a man." The chief of another branch routed work directly to the author's supervisor and by-passed the branch in various ways. Other, more serious types of harassment were experienced in the work situation. As stated in the literature, the effects of change are felt in various parts of the organization.

As news of harassment circulated, attendance at the women's meetings dropped off. It became imperative to obtain top management support without further delay. The risk of overt disapproval by top management appeared less dangerous than a continuing neutral position. The note was sent; it received immediate response from the Director,

as stated. A meeting was arranged for the following week.

During this period, the change agent attempted to increase her expert power and referent power, as suggested in the literature. For example, word was leaked about professional honors received in connection with recent technical research and about other types of recognition received, such as inclusion in the World Who's Who of Women.

In the meantime, members of the women's group prepared reports for the meeting, which was held in the Director's Conference Room. The Director shook hands with everyone and introduced his colleagues - the Associate Director for Personnel, the Chief of Personnel, and the Chief of Employee Relations Branch. The Director reiterated what the members of Personnel Division had said about a technicality with the labor union and instructed the group to communicate through the women's representative or the EEO Board. It was clearly a reprimand; there was no "open door" policy under the new arrangement. The extent of top management's disregard for equal opportunity was apparent when someone mentioned the small percentage of women in grades 13 and above. The Director suggested that women should look for "quality" in their jobs, instead of "quantity" of opportunity.

The women were stunned. Two of the elites joined the union. Another arranged with FEW (Federally Employed Women) for assistance in initiating a class suit; several of the other women agreed to this. A full-scale reconnaissance of the change process was needed.

Reconnaissance of the Change Process

At this point it was necessary to reassess strategies in terms of the new environment and the prevailing climate for change. Essen-

tially, this involved a period of information gathering. At least three questions had to be answered:

(1) Could the evaluation research be conducted without adversely affecting the women's organization?

(2) Were the targets still viable objectives toward alleviating prejudicial barriers to career advancement for women?

(3) Did measurement of discrimination still have potential for positive feedback into the system?

In order to answer these questions the change agent contacted the EEO Officer, the executive board of the women's organization and the Chief of Employee Development Branch in Personnel Division, and conducted brief interviews with seven of the Grade 12 respondents randomly selected from the large agency. An attempt was made to contact three respondents from the small agency. The results are discussed below.

Response to Question (1)

The EEO Officer strongly favored a quiescent period. In fact, he said that any further activity would have to be conducted through the EEO Board. He would not want to be directly involved in another survey.[1]

The executive board of the women's organization did not want to engage in any activity that would require contact with Personnel Division and they would not back a survey which was not cleared by Personnel. They were anxious to continue the change process, but they did

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[1]Later he did cooperate directly with the change agent in providing data for the records check. He also offered to provide data for the comparative analysis, which he could obtain through his regular contacts in Personnel Division.

not want to endanger the organization's official status within the agency.

It appeared that some technique, other than the interview, would have to be used for the evaluation research.

Response to Question (2)

Two targets had been identified as viable objectives toward alleviating prejudicial barriers to career advancement for women. These were: (1) a policy change to require posting of professional vacancies so eligible women could apply, and (2) increased management training opportunities for women. These targets were identified early in the change process and were supported in the Grade 12 Survey findings. Respondents felt that they would have greater opportunity for promotions if they had attended management training courses. Their attitude reflected the attitude of top management at that time (prior to the reorganization).

In discussing the targets with the various persons mentioned, the change agent found consistent endorsement of the first target. There was consensus that women would not have equal opportunity for promotions unless vacancies were advertised so women could apply.

The second target was not supported. For example, the Chief of the Employee Development Branch in Personnel Division discussed the topic at a meeting of the women's organization.[1] He told the audience that management training was not a criterion for positions in middle and upper management.

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[1]The talk was given at a luncheon meeting on Wednesday, August 20. It was advertised in the official agency bulletin for August, 1975. This bulletin is available in the agency library.

This was a change from the prevailing attitude under the former Chief Administrator. He had encouraged promotion of administrative generalists, as opposed to specialists.

The depreciation of management training was apparent throughout the agency. For example, in a high level advisory committee meeting the Agency Director and his assistants joked about a division chief who was attending a Civil Service management course. They announced that the man was "attending Finishing School."

As will be shown later, it appeared that increased opportunity for management training had resulted from the change process, but it was no longer a valid measurement of progress toward the goal (of increased promotions into middle management).

Response to Question (3)

The importance of top management support of the change process was stressed throughout the literature. As a result, the first strategy developed by the author, as change agent, was the perception of support of the feminist movement by the Chief Administrator. There followed an awareness of sex discrimination throughout the agency. This, in turn, created a climate in which the verbatim illustrations of sex discrimination in the Grade 12 Report had the potential for stimulating change. (As Griffiths stated in one of his propositions, change in organizations "tends to occur from the top down.")[1]

An entirely different attitude was expressed by the Agency Director after the reorganization. As stated in the previous section, he

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[1]References by Griffiths and other authors regarding top management support appear in Chapter II, page 54.

suggested that women should look for "quality" in their jobs, instead of "quantity" of opportunity. His attitude was quickly transferred throughout the agency. For example, at the previously mentioned advisory committee meeting, the Director requested reports from division chiefs and associate directors on staffing efforts. A typical response was, "We have placed two capable men in assistant division chief positions and we're considering another man for a grade 13 position." There was no recognition of affirmative action or improving management techniques. When one of the advisors raised the question about executive training, the response was that "our emphasis is on research."[1]

This changed attitude toward management training and sex discrimination noticeably affected the Grade 12 respondents. The reinterviews conducted with the seven respondents were in sharp contrast with the earlier interviews. In the original survey, many women expressed fear of retaliation but they wanted to be interviewed anyway. In these second interviews the respondents were apathetic and disinterested. They said that nothing would change sex discrimination.[2]

At that point, any measure of change in perception of sex discrimination would be subject to distortion by contemporary effects. In addition, the attitude of top management limited potential feedback into the system from reports of sex discrimination.

One further problem was noted. The author tried telephoning

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[1]Minutes of this conference were recorded by the agency historian. They are available for public review on request. It is interesting that the quoted comments were made by the only woman associate director in the agency.

[2]As a change agent, the author found it necessary to continually reassure participants that progress was being made. As the literature suggests, people tend to have unrealistic expectations.

three Grade 12 respondents in the smaller agency. One had retired; one said that the agencies had nothing in common anymore and she didn't feel that she could contribute anything; a message was left for the third person but she didn't return the call.[1]

An assessment of the situation indicated that a different technique would have to be used for the evaluation research. (This is described in the next section.) However, despite the apparent setback, the change process was continuing. Elites in the women's organization had broadened their power base by joining the union. They took other positive measures. For example, they re-routed the memorandum to the Director through the EEO Board (as the Director had suggested).

Interest in the change process surfaced among other groups. For example, the author was asked to present the results of the Grade 12 Survey for the Toastmistress Club.

Another interesting event occurred during this period. A team from the Executive Department visited the agency to inspect Personnel Division. Employees were permitted individual conferences. The author and several members of the women's group requested appointments. The team was interested in the Grade 12 Report. They advised the author that management training would be rapidly expanded to include grade 12 employees. It was ironic that this target was virtually assured when it no longer served as a valid objective for the change process.[2]

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[1]The literature describes problems of "the outsider" and the "N.I.H. factor" (Chapter II, page 65). This may have contributed to the uncooperative response or these respondents also may have felt apathetic toward sex discrimination.

[2]Of course, the value of this training was not limited to existing conditions. In time it could again become a criterion for promotion to middle management. In any case, it should improve the ability of women to manage.

During the reassessment of the change process, a new target was identified. The executive board of the women's organization wanted hard evidence of change. They suggested that goals should be established, since none had been set in the 1975 EEO Plan.[1] The target was set at a ten percent increase over the 1974 goal. This turned out to be 9 promotions (rounded up).

In the next section the targets are discussed further, along with the original plans for the evaluation research and the research as it was carried out.

Design of Evaluation Research

The original design of the evaluation research included a re-interview of the original Grade 12 respondents. Data was to be collected by telephone, using a short interview schedule. The questions were designed to measure change in three areas: (1) perception of discrimination, (2) number and percentage of promotions to grade 13, and (3) number and percentage of respondents designated for management training courses during FY 1976.

As stated earlier, the first and third elements had ceased to be valid measurements of change and had ceased to have potential for positive feedback into the system. The second element remained a valid measurement but it needed to be strengthened by comparative analysis with data from a previous period. In addition, the new target - a numerical goal of 9 women promoted to grade 13 - required objective

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[1]When the 1975 EEO Plan was released in March 1975, it was announced that goals would be set by the associate directors in each agency. These goals were to be released in a separate report as soon as they were formulated. By November 1, 1975 these goals had still not materialized; thus the concern for the new target.

data.[1] Because of the unfavorable conditions for reinterview - including the probability of a high noninterview rate - and because an objective tool was more efficient for evaluating the new target, the original plans were dropped in favor of a records check and comparative analysis. This was timed so that results could be fed back into the system through the inspection team from the Executive Department.

Records Check

The EEO Officer obtained computer printouts of current employee characteristics and recorded the current status of the 124 women who were included in the Grade 12 Survey. For purposes of quality control, a ten percent sample was randomly selected and the status of sample persons was verified by inquiry. The record appeared complete and accurate as of the specified date, September 13, 1975.

The original universe had been computed as of March 15, 1975. However, the "change period" was designated from the date that data were released in the oral presentation, May 28, 1975. Thus, for comparative purposes the "change period" consisted of 15 weeks. The data on promotions, attrition, and other losses during that period appear in Table 1. These data were obtained from the EEO Office and were subject to the verification procedure described above. They cover Grade 12 women in the two study agencies.[2]

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[1]The plan was to determine the number of promotions as of the end of the change period and advertise the difference between this and the goal, in order to stimulate progress. As is shown in the next section, this became unnecessary. The goal was exceeded during the change period.

[2]The two out-of-scope divisions were excluded from all tables in this study.

Table 1. Change in Status of Women
in the Grade 12 Survey
5/75 - 9/75

Type of Change	Total Number	Number Changed	Percentage Change
Promotion	-	10	8.1
Transferred out of study agencies	-	11	8.9
Retired	-	3	2.4
Deceased	-	1	0.8
Total	124	-	-

The most recent data available for comparative purposes covered the twelve-month period December 1973 - December 1974. These appear in Table 2. The data were compiled for the 1975 EEO Plan in the study agencies.

Table 2. Increase in the Number of Women Employees
in Middle Management in (Study Agencies)
12/73 - 12/74

Grade	Goal	12/73	12/74	Change
GS 13	+8	68	80	+12
GS 14	+6	33	38	+5
GS 15	+2	8	6	-2
Total	+16	109	124	+15

Note: The total number of employees in Grades 13-15 increased by 49 during this period.[1]

[1]The increase of 34 men in these positions reflects both promotions and direct hiring from the outside. There is less probability that women would be hired directly into these positions.

Some related data were available for the period April 1973 - June 1974. These appear in Table 3. The table was reproduced in its entirety from the report prepared by the Equal Employment Opportunity Committee, 1974 Task Force on the Status of Women. The report was released in the study agencies on December 3, 1974.

Table 3. Employment of Women in (Study Agencies) 4/73 - 6/74

	Total Persons		Women		Women as percent of all employees	
Grades	April 1973	June 1974	April 1973	June 1974	April 1973	June 1974
1-4	694	644	512	479	73.8	74.4
5-8	1,071	982	768	825	71.7	84.0
9-12	1,026	1,041	404	414	39.4	39.8
13+	692	735	109	119	15.8	16.2
Total	3,483	3,402	1,793	1,841	51.5	54.1

Data from the previous tables provide a basis for analyzing promotions of women in the Grade 12 Survey.

Table 4. Comparison of Increase in the Number of Women in Grade 13 Positions,[1] as Shown in Tables 1, 2, and 3

Source	Period	Number of Women Promoted
Table 3	4/73 - 6/74 (60 weeks)	10
Table 2	12/73 - 12/74 (52 weeks)	12
Table 1	3/75 - 9/75 (15 weeks)	10

[1]Although it is possible that the increase in women in grade 13 positions (in Tables 2 and 3) could reflect some direct hiring from the outside, it is probable that in most cases women were promoted from grade 12.

From the data shown in Table 4 it is obvious that an unusual increase in promotions occurred during the "change period." There are a number of ways to approach this. For example, during the period ending:

. . . June 1974, on the average there was 1 promotion every 6 weeks.

. . . December 1974, on the average there was 1 promotion every 4 1/3 weeks.

. . . September 1975, on the average there was 1 promotion every 1 1/2 weeks.

If the rate of promotions during the "change period" was consistent throughout the year, 34 women would have been promoted to grade 13 in calendar year 1975. Yet according to the notation in Table 2, only 49 persons - men and women - were promoted to grades 13, 14, and 15, during calendar year 1974. Note that in Table 3, which covers half of calendar year 1974, the percentage of women in these three grades increased by 0.4 percent in sixty months. Even considering the possibility of increased employment in these grades, the increase during the "change period" was remarkable. This, and other findings from the study are explored in Chapter V.

Summary

This chapter described a structural change in the organization of the study agencies and the dramatic effect it had on the change process. Since the reorganization was a result of political decisions in the external environment, it served to emphasize the commonality of Federal agencies in their relationship to the political environment and thus the potential for generalizing strategies from this study.

The chapter also provided a description of the immediate results

of the policy research and the changes in objectives and plans for the evaluation research. These changes emerged from a reconnaissance of the change process following the reorganization. The records check and comparative analysis finally undertaken replaced the empirical research originally planned. The results of the records check were discussed. Further evaluation of these data and of the findings from the earlier research are presented in Chapter V.

V. RESEARCH FINDINGS

The action research conducted in this study consisted of policy research and evaluation. These were described in Chapters III and IV, along with some preliminary results of the research. Evaluation in terms of the hypotheses appears in this chapter.

Review of the Hypotheses and Assumptions

For this study, four hypotheses were postulated based upon certain assumptions. These were enumerated in Chapter I. The intent in this chapter is to examine each hypothesis and its related assumptions in terms of the underlying dynamism of the change process.

Hypothesis 1

During the change period, the number of women promoted to grade 13 would exceed the average increase during a comparable period of 1974 by 10 percent or more.

- The assumption was that the additional promotions could reasonably be attributed to the change process.

Data for hypothesis 1

These data were derived from Tables 1 - 4 in Chapter IV.

1. Number of grade 13 women, as of December 31, 1974 92
2. Number of grade 13 women, as of December 31, 1973 80
   - Percent increase for 52 weeks 15%
   - Average percent increase for 15 weeks 4.3%

3. Number of women promoted to grade 13 during the change period 10

4. (By extrapolation) number of women promoted to grade 13 during 52 weeks 34.7

   - Percent increase for 52 weeks (at 0.667 promotions per week) 43.3%

   - Percent increase for 15 weeks (change period) 12.5%

The analysis indicates that hypothesis 1 is positive.

Examination of the assumption in hypothesis 1

The percentage increase during the change period was remarkable. In considering all possible reasons for the increase, three were selected as the most likely causes. These were: (1) a general increase in employment in the agencies; (2) an increase in grade 13 promotions for women due to EEO activity; and (3) an increase in grade 13 promotions for women due to the change process.

In response to reason (1), the data in Table 3 of the previous chapter show that during the period April 1973 - June 1974 total employment decreased in the study agencies. Although data were not available for 1975 for the two agencies, they were available through June 1975 for the larger agency. According to the employee bulletin dated September 1975,[1] during the period December 1974 - June 1975, total employment (grades 1 - 18) increased by 162 persons (5.5 percent) and average grades decreased for both men (10.1 to 9.9) and women (5.4 to 5.3). The smaller agency traditionally has had a stable

[1]This is an internal agency communication which is on file in the agency library and is available for public review.

employment. For example, during the period covered by Table 3, it contributed one person to the increase in the category (grade) 13+.[1] Clearly reason (1) does not nullify the assumption in hypothesis 1.

In response to reason (2) the data in Table 4 of the previous chapter show that increases from April 1973 - December 1974 were modest as compared to increases during the change period. In addition, the universe for the Grade 12 Survey was the computer printout of employees as of March 15, 1975. Between that date and May 28, 1975 only one of the grade 12 respondents reported a promotion. There appears to be nothing in these data that can account for the increase during the change period and the review of records showed no unusual EEO activity during that period.

Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the change process had a major influence on the number of promotions during the change period. The assumption was valid and served to reinforce the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 2

There would be an increase of 10 percent or more, in the number of women in grade 12 positions scheduled to attend government management training courses in 1976, as compared to the number that attended in 1975.

- There were two assumptions associated with hypothesis 2: (1) Women would know if they were scheduled for management training in 1976 and would accept training assignments as an objective toward equal opportunity; and (2) no change in civil service rules would occur that would interfere with valid comparison of 1975-1976 schedules

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[1] EEO Task Force Report, p. 7.

for management training.

Data for hypothesis 2

No data were gathered to test this hypothesis since it ceased to be a valid measurement of progress toward the desired goal. (However, as stated in Chapter IV, there was virtual assurance that management training opportunities would be expanded to include grade 12 employees.)

Examination of the assumptions in hypothesis 2

As described in Chapter IV, the first assumption related to this hypothesis was not met. In the reorganized agencies, management training courses were no longer criteria for middle management positions and were actively depreciated by the new top management. Therefore, management training was no longer a viable objective of the study.

Hypothesis 3

After the change period, there would be a decrease of 10 percent or more in the number of women in grade 12 positions who would feel "presently discriminated against."

- The assumption was that contemporary effects would not be excessive to the point of confounding results.

Data for hypothesis 3

No data were gathered to test this hypothesis since it ceased to have potential for positive feedback into the system.

Examination of the assumption in hypothesis 3

As described in Chapter IV, the assumption related to this hypothesis was not met. Grade 12 respondents were apathetic toward sex

discrimination. Top management showed no concern for affirmative action. In fact, on the basis of stated plans for promotions and the promotions already granted, there was evidence of an increase in prejudicial barriers against employment opportunities for women.

Hypothesis 4

There would be a policy change in the study agencies, so that eligible persons would be notified before a position was filled.
- The assumption was that records could be obtained to establish a basis for recognition of the policy change.

Data for hypothesis 4

As described in Chapter IV, one associate director posted notice of a professional vacancy. This cannot be interpreted as a policy change but it may have been a harbinger of change. There is also the possibility that it reflected an awareness of the need to open up communication in the agency. In any case, it was not happenstance. The author contacted the associate director and the personnel specialist responsible for the posting. It was determined that the posting was done under the direction of the associate director.

Examination of the assumption in hypothesis 4

In some agencies notices are sent to eligible persons, informing them of their candidate status for a particular position. These were the type of "records" referred to in the assumption. However, in some agencies notices of vacancies are posted on public bulletin boards. Non-professional vacancies are broadcast in this manner in the study agencies.

Hypothesis 4 and the related assumption were considered inconclusive. However, the posting activity is discussed again in the next section, along with other results of the action research.

Other Results of the Action Research

As indicated in the literature, results of action research evolve over time. For example, Pareto stated that "results do not follow immediately on their cause" and Mann and Neff stressed the need to set realistic expectations.[1] Thus, one could not expect the targets to reach their desired levels in the fifteen weeks of the change period. However, discrete events and trends toward the target levels could become discernible. This section addresses such events-conditions which surfaced during the change period and appeared to have a casual relationship to the action research.

Probably the most important condition was a change in the organization climate. Employees showed awareness of the problem. A chain of loosely connected events, mentioned in previous chapters, serve to support this observation. For example:

- A division chief noted that few women were represented at the management level and he encouraged supervisors to attend management training courses, whereas in the past he had ridiculed such courses.
- Another division chief contacted the EEO Officer to learn more about the Grade 12 Survey.
- A survey respondent was promised a promotion and another one was transferred to a more congenial branch, after requesting transfer to the author's branch.

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[1]References are from Chapter II.

- An associate director posted notice of a grade 15 vacancy on the public bulletin board.
- Several supervisors protested that they were quoted out of context in the Grade 12 Report; they were concerned enough to protest.
- The author was invited to present a review of the Grade 12 Survey for the Toastmistress Club.

Other events occurred which were not previously reported. Most of these bear a tangential relationship to the change process. For example:

- Personnel sponsored a management course for supervisors in grades 9 - 14. The content and format of the announcement, and the minimum grade level of eligibility conveyed a democratic attitude which was unusual for Personnel. A copy of the announcement appears in appendix X.
- The author filed a grievance complaint against her supervisor for the retaliatory merit promotion rating on personality.[1] This was the first time in her government career that the author had filed a complaint for any reason. It appears that the change process may affect the actors in a personal way.

There were indications that an awareness of sex discrimination had permeated throughout the study agencies. For example, in conferences involving various levels of employees, frequent references were made to "feminists" and other terms related to the feminist

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[1] The grievance was settled at the informal stage; the personality item, and three related items, were re-evaluated as satisfactory or above.

movement;[1] there was general use of dual-gender pronouns in both written and oral communications; secretaries were less often referred to as some supervisor's "girl"; and, in general, there was evidence of greater respect for women as professional employees.

Much of the general awareness of women employees reflected the growing recognition of the status of women in the nation. However, it is reasonable to assume that the change process contributed to this awareness in the study agencies. For example, instructions were issued by the Executive Department that titles, such as Mr., Mrs., Miss or Ms. were to be omitted from communications to the Department. However, the Director (of the larger study agency) extended the order to all written communication originating in the agency.

In addition to generalization of awareness, ownership of the change concept had become entrenched among several elites. For example, the executive board of the women's organization became aggressively involved in seeing that their memorandum to the Director moved through the EEO Board. A committee of the women's organization researched the material held in employees' individual personnel files and sent a memorandum to Personnel demanding to have files updated, to delete reprimands and other deleterious information that have an automatic deletion date.

To some extent the mold had been broken; as individual employees

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[1]This was an on-going process. Immediately after the release of the Grade 12 Report there were exaggerated references to "feminists." For example, one division chief would salute when the author entered a conference room. Within the change period, this attitude evolved into a more egalitarian acceptance.

[2]Personnel remains a "late-adopter" division.

and as members of an organization, the women were not accepting the old dominant-submissive posture with Personnel Division. Furthermore, the group was not referring to the author for new ideas for change. They were moving ahead on their own and inviting the author to join them. Thus, responsibility for the change process had transferred from the change agent to the established leaders within the agency. There remained only a maintenance function for the change agent and a feedback process that could be implemented by employees. However, since the change agent came from within the organization some of the impetus for change was retained. Rather than a role difference, a difference in emphasis occurred. This points to the lodestone of having a change agent from within; vigilance and awareness for incremental gains have the potential for continual feedback into the system.

As stated in Chapter I, it was not the purpose of this study to provide a fully structured and operational process for reducing prejudicial barriers. The intent was to create specific instances of change as an impetus for more profound change. From the findings described in this chapter, it is reasonable to assume that the effort succeeded.

Summary

This chapter examined the results of the policy research and the evaluation research, in terms of the hypotheses postulated in Chapter I and other, more subjective, results. A strong case was made for successful increases in promotions for women employees to grade 13, as stated in hypothesis 1. Hypotheses 2 and 3 were rejected as no longer valid measures of progress. (Management training could no longer be considered a viable objective toward the desired goal and feelings of

reduced sex discrimination had no potential for positive feedback into the system under the prevailing attitudes of the new top management.) Hypothesis 4 was inconclusive but there was some tangible evidence that at least some members of top management were responding to the need to open up communication in the agencies.

Considering all the evidence discussed in this chapter the conclusion was that the change process was successful, to the extent intended. This point is developed further in the final chapter, where application and theory of the change process are compared, along with general conclusions and recommendations.

VI. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In the first chapter reference was made to the literature search as an important research technique in the study. This extended to the development of strategies on change theory and observation of the resulting change process in relation to the literature. One purpose of the close observation was to increase the generality of the study by identifying incidents and trends that could be predicted from the literature. These are described in the first section of the chapter. In the final section are proposals for stabilizing and maintaining the change process and generalizing the study to other Federal agencies.

Conclusions

Several important concepts of change theory were demonstrated in the study. The major ones are discussed in this section and are cross-referenced to related literature in Chapter II.

Commitment from Top Management

According to the literature (Griffiths, page 54), change in an organization is more likely to be accepted if it has the support of top management. In the author's view, commitment by the Chief Administrator was largely responsible for positive reaction to the Grade 12 Report. Under this administrator, supervisors were concerned about the perception of discrimination expressed in the report. After the reorganization, the Agency Director showed a negative attitude toward affirmative action for women, which was immediately expressed in the

hiring and promotion practices of associate directors and division chiefs. It is difficult to imagine a successful change project without commitment from top management. (However, such commitment is not enough; more is needed.)

Spreading the Ownership Concept

People support changes in which they are involved; they resist changes imposed on them by others (Watson, page 53). Thus, participation and involvement of the target group should be encouraged throughout the change process. The author considered this an important factor in legitimatizing the fight against discrimination in the study agencies. For example, every division became involved through the participation of its Grade 12 respondents. No division chief or associate director could feel aloof from the change process. This motivated discussion of the Grade 12 Report among top managers and all levels of professional employees. As a result, it opened up a network of communication which permitted further feedback into the system. Broad participation that fosters involvement has major impact on the change process.

The Whole and Part Relationship

According to Watson (page 42), changes in any part of a social system have consequences for other parts. Pressures from the social system may nullify the progress made by a subunit; or one subunit may undermine the progress of another subunit. It is important to be aware of this. Early in the study, a policy decision on the use of the generic pronoun "he" was nearly reduced to triviality by a group who feared the change process as an intrusion on their opportunities. Every effort should be made to involve such groups in the change

process, but until this is achieved the change agent should be alert to acts of resistance from disparate parts of the system.

Circumventing Obstacles When Possible

Lewin (page 45) cautioned that increased pressure toward the goal may not bring about the desired change. This was noted when initiating the Grade 12 Survey. It was decided to circumvent Personnel, rather than discuss the plans with them and face possible delays, during which counter-forces would be strengthened. Such decisions should be made through analysis of the force field, not by intuition. This is the kind of problem that one might expect to encounter in other Federal agencies. Personnel divisions tend to have a conservative philosophy and to resist anything that threatens the equilibrium of the organization. The type of counter-forces described in the study are highly predictive of the tactics one might encounter from Personnel in any Federal agency undergoing change.

Break the Mold

Lewin advised that it is necessary to break down the old structure, including tradition and custom, before innovation can take place (page 41). This was clearly illustrated in the relationship of Personnel with the women's group. The dominant-submissive posture had to be broken or the change process would have been halted by bureaucratic delays. This relates also to Stone's notion (page 39) of the cumulative effect of discrete innovations. Once the women challenged Personnel and sent their memorandum to the Director, they challenged the EEO Board and sought assistance from outside groups. This was an essential step if they were to carry on the change process.

In planning change in other Federal agencies, a careful investigation should be made of the gatekeeping functions of Personnel and the relationship of Personnel with employee groups.

Set Realistic Expectations

Several authors stressed the need to set realistic expectations (Pareto, Mann and Neff, page 52), and to understand that effect does not follow immediately on its cause. If this isn't recognized, the project may be abandoned prematurely. For example, some of the respondents expected wide-spread reaction from the Grade 12 Report. They were disappointed by the initial response and had to be reassured. Providing reassurance is an important part of the change agent's job. This person must also be constantly aware of minor changes that can be fed back into the system. The change process is one of small incremental gains; there are few dramatic incidents.

Utilize Leaders

Miles (page 53) suggested that participation of the many does not preclude strong leadership and Guest (page 54) found that change established by forceful leadership continued to remain in effect after the leader had gone. The author found that informal leaders assumed a catalyst role in the project. Later the leaders of the women's organization took control of the change process. This transfer was a significant event. It provided a basis for continuing change and feedback through the established communication network.

Of the seven concepts discussed above, the author places greatest emphasis on the first and the last. Major change should not be attempted without the support of top management. It would be better

to attempt small changes and use success to stimulate management's support. The use of established leaders increases the potential for success of the change process and for continuation of the process after the change agent's role is played out. Thus, the change process has little chance of being implemented without the support of top management and has little chance of being continued without the participation of leaders in the organization.

This discussion has served to point out the major areas where the change process in the study paralleled the literature. Many other concepts of change theory were also demonstrated. However, the author felt that the incidents related to these seven are likely to be repeated in any Federal agency that introduces a change process to alleviate discrimination.

This section has dealt with general conclusions of the study in terms of change theory. In the next section recommendations are made for furthering the effects of the action research in the study agencies and for generalizing results to other agencies.

Recommendations

The study was an initial step toward the alleviation of prejudicial barriers to career advancement of women. The findings indicate that the study was successful, as intended. However, the next step must be taken. Results must be fed back into the system to stabilize the gains and introduce new changes. Even as the study ended, this process had begun. For example, the Director decided to hold an open house at the agency for all employees and their families. Hot dogs and other refreshments were to be served. The author seized the

opportunity to reassert the study targets (see note to the Division Chief in appendix XI).

There are other recommendations related to the continuation of the action research. For example, continued efforts must be made to gain top management support for alleviating sex discrimination in hiring and promoting women. As the climate improves in this area, an attitudinal survey of women in grades 13 and 14 should be undertaken.

The benchmark data from the Grade 12 Survey should be utilized for conducting sample surveys on the various attitudes expressed in the earlier survey. These would provide a monitoring service for maintaining the targets at the new levels and for feedback into the system.

The women's organization needs to grow internally and to gain affiliation with women's organizations in other agencies, in order to increase its power base. It should become the main vehicle for continuing the change process.

The author will search out opportunities to present the study, and incidents in the action research, to encourage change in other Federal agencies. Although the focus of the study was alleviation of sex discrimination in employment, the emphasis in the future will be on change to improve the quality of life for all employees, through fair employment practices for all.

GRADE 12 SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Name of Division _____

Screening Question: What is your present grade? _____

If Grade 12: How long have you been in grade? _____/_____ years/months

CONTINUE IF RESPONDENT IS GRADE 12 AND HAS BEEN IN GRADE ONE YEAR OR LONGER. OTHERWISE SKIP TO ITEM 9.

1. Where were you working when you were promoted to Grade 12?
   1 ☐ The division
   2 ☐ A different division
   Name of division: _____

2. So far as you know, have any grade 13 positions in your field been filled in the last year and a half, that is since January 1974?
   1 ☐ Yes - Ask 2a
   2 ☐ No } Skip to Check Item A
   3 ☐ Don't know }

   2a. Do you think you were qualified for that (or those) position(s)?
   1 ☐ Yes - Skip to 3
   2 ☐ No - Go to Check Item A
   3 ☐ Don't know - Skip to 3

CHECK ITEM A
IF NO TO 2 OR 2a AND RESPONDENT HAS BEEN IN GRADE FOR LONGER THAN 2 1/2 YEARS:

   2b. When was the last time you were aware of an opening at grade 13 for which you felt qualified?
   _____ (Date)
   1 ☐ Never - Skip to 9

3. Can you remember the title or a description of the most recent grade 13 opening you felt qualified to fill?
   1 ☐ Yes - Ask 3a
   2 ☐ No - Skip to 4

   3a. What kind of opening was it? _____

4. Did you hear about the opening <u>before</u> or <u>after</u> it was filled?
   1 ☐ Before
   2 ☐ After
   3 ☐ Don't remember

5. Were you considered for the position?
   1 ☐ Yes - Ask 5a
   2 ☐ No - Skip to 5b
   3 ☐ Don't know - Skip to 6

   5a. How did you learn that you were considered? (Answer, then skip to 6)

_____

5b. Why do you think you were not selected?

Verbatim reason: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

1 ☐ On basis of qualifications or performance
2 ☐ On basis of age
3 ☐ On basis of sex
4 ☐ On basis of color or race
5 ☐ On some other basis
6 ☐ Don't know

6. Was the opening in your present division or in another one?

1 ☐ This division
2 ☐ Another division

7. Do you know who was selected for the position?

1 ☐ Yes - Ask 7a-g
2 ☐ No - Skip to 8

7a. What is the person's approximate age?

_____ years

7b. And how does that compare with your age?

_____ years

or

Person selected is:

1 ☐ Much older
2 ☐ Somewhat older
3 ☐ About the same
4 ☐ Somewhat younger
5 ☐ Much younger

7c. Is the person a man or woman?

1 ☐ Man
2 ☐ Woman

7d. What is the person's color or race?

1 ☐ White
2 ☐ Black
3 ☐ Other

7e. So far as you know, what were the person's principal qualifications for the position?

Verbatim response: _____

_____

_____

_____

1 ☐ Incumbent promoted
2 ☐ Education
3 ☐ Experience
4 ☐ Member of in-group
5 ☐ Other

7f. Do you think the job description was rewritten or tailored to the person's qualifications?

1 ☐ Yes
2 ☐ No
3 ☐ Don't know

7g. Do you think that you or the incumbent was better qualified for the grade 13 position?

1 ☐ Respondent
2 ☐ Incumbent
3 ☐ Don't know

8. Some people who are passed over for promotions no longer seek them. Would you say you are now actively looking for a grade 13, just hoping for one, or have decided you prefer your present assignment and grade to any promotion you might get?

1 ☐ Actively looking - Ask 8a
2 ☐ Just hoping - Skip to 8b
3 ☐ Prefer present assignment and grade - Skip to 8c

8a. What kinds of things are you doing?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

1 ☐ Taking courses
2 ☐ Going to Personnel
3 ☐ Applying for known openings
4 ☐ Other kinds of things. Describe please.

8b. What (other) kinds of things are you considering or planning to do?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

1 ☐ Take courses
2 ☐ Go to Personnel
3 ☐ Apply for known openings
4 ☐ Other - Describe please.

} Skip to 9

8c. Is there any particular reason why you are not seeking job promotion?

1 ☐ Yes - Ask 8d
2 ☐ No - Skip to 9

8d. What is the reason?

Verbatim: _____
_____
_____
_____

1 ☐ Satisfied with present assignment
2 ☐ Don't like rat race
3 ☐ Not qualified
4 ☐ Other - specify

9. Has the Bureau done anything to help prepare you for promotions?

1 ☐ Yes
2 ☐ No

10. Have you taken any management courses given by the Bureau?

1 ☐ Yes
2 ☐ No

11. Do you think that taking management courses helps people get promotions?

1 ☐ Yes
2 ☐ No

12. Is there anything (more) you think the Bureau might do to help people like you get promotions?

1 ☐ Yes - Ask 12a
2 ☐ No
3 ☐ Don't know

} Skip to 13

12a. What things might the Bureau do?

Verbatim: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

13. Think about your whole career at (agency). Have you ever felt that you were discriminated against because you are a woman?

1 ☐ Yes - Ask 13a
2 ☐ No - END INTERVIEW

13a. Could you briefly describe the situation or incident?

Verbatim: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

END INTERVIEW

PROPOSED INTRODUCTION FOR GRADE 12 SURVEY (EEO)

- Introduce self and ask for respondent by name.

The official (agency) equal employment opportunities plan calls for moving more qualified women into management level positions. With this in mind, the EEO director for (agency) has worked with us in planning a survey of all GS 12 women to find out whether they have been given opportunities for advancement.

The results of this survey will be provided to the EEO director and to Personnel Division in order to assess the current situation and implement the provisions of the EEO plan.

- Everything you say is confidential. Your name does not appear on the questionnaire and there is no code assigned to you.

- Nothing you say can be tied back to you. If there is any question you don't want to answer, just tell me. And if you have any questions as we go along please stop me; I'll be glad to answer them.

GRADE 12 SURVEY TABULATION 1/

Question	Response	No.	Percent
How long have you been in grade?	Less than 1 yr.	38	31
	1 yr. to 3 yrs. 11 mo.	54	43
	4 yrs. and more	32	26
	Total	124	100
1. Where were you working when you were promoted to Grade 12?	This division	74	86
	Different division	12	14
	Total	86	100
2. So far as you know, have any grade 13 positions in your field been filled in the last year and a half, that is since January 1974?	Yes	47	55
	No	26	30
	Don't know	13	15
	Total	86	100
2a. Do you think you were qualified for that (or those) position(s)?	Yes	33	70
	No	10	21
	Don't know	4	9
	Total	47	100
2b. When was the last time you were aware of an opening at grade 13 for which you felt qualified?	Never	28	-
3. Can you remember the title or a description of the most recent grade 13 opening you felt qualified to fill?	Yes	39	76
	No	12	24
	Total	51	100
4. Did you hear about the opening before or after it was filled?	Before	21	41
	After	28	55
	Don't Remember	2	4
	Total	51	100
5. Were you considered for the position?	Yes	11	22
	No	22	43
	Don't know	18	35
	Total	51	100
5a. How did you learn that you were considered?	Letter	7	64
	Interview with supervisor and/or Personnel	4	36
	Total	11	100

1/ No imputations were made; NA's reflect incomplete items and refusal case

Question	Response	No.	Percent
5b. Why do you think you were not selected?	Qualifications/ Performance	1	4
	Sex	1	4
	Color/Race	3	14
	Person already selected	9	41
	Administrative reasons	3	14
	Other	2	9
	Don't know	4	18
	Total	22	100
6. Was the opening in your present division or in another one?	This division	33	65
	Another division	9	17
	Not ascertainable	9	17
	Total	51	99
7. Do you know who was selected for the position?	Yes	33	65
	No	4	8
	Not ascertainable	14	27
	Total	51	100
7a. What is the person's approximate age?	Under 30	8	24
	30-39	16	49
	40-49	2	6
	50 and over	2	6
	Not ascertainable	5	15
	Total	33	100
7b. And how does that compare with your age?	Much older	1	3
	Somewhat older	6	18
	About the same	14	43
	Somewhat younger	6	18
	Much younger	6	18
	Total	33	100
7c. Is the person a man or a woman?	Man	22	67
	Woman	11	33
	Total	33	100
7d. What is the person's color or race?	White	29	88
	Black	2	6
	Other	2	6
	Total	33	100

Question	Response	No.	Percent
7e. So far as you know, what were the person's principal qualifications for the position? 1/	Incumbent	11	24
	Education	3	7
	Experience	12	27
	In-group	5	11
	Don't know	5	11
	Result of complaint	3	7
	"Given more responsibility"	3	7
	Lateral	2	4
	Tenure	1	2
	Total	45	100
7f. Do you think the job description was rewritten or tailored to the person's qualifications?	Yes	9	28
	No	12	36
	Don't know	12	36
	Total	33	100
7g. Do you think that you or the incumbent was better qualified for the grade 13 position?	Respondent	5	15
	Incumbent	13	39
	Don't know	15	46
	Total	33	100
8. Would you say you are actively looking for a grade 13, just hoping for one, or have you decided you prefer your present assignment and grade to any promotion you might get?	Actively	22	43
	Hoping	17	33
	Prefer present	7	14
	Not ascertainable	5	10
	Total	51	100
8a. What kinds of things are you doing? 1/	Taking courses	10	28
	Going to Personnel	4	12
	Apply for openings	5	15
	Upgrade current job	6	18
	Asking persons at Bureau	3	9
	Trying to do a good job where I am	2	6
	Talked to supervisor	2	6
	Other	2	6
	Total	34	100

1/ More than one reason given in some cases

Question	Response	No.	Percent
8b. What (other) kinds of things are you considering or planning to do? 1/	Take courses	13	27
	Go to Personnel	4	8
	Apply for openings	12	25
	Nothing	6	12
	May leave Bureau	4	8
	Finish Ph.D.	2	4
	Tried EEO	2	4
	Other	6	12
	Total	49	100
8c. Is there any particular reason why you are not seeking a job promotion?	Yes	11	92
	No	1	8
	Total	12	100
8d. What is the reason? 1/	Satisfied with present assignment	5	23
	Don't like rat race	2	9
	Not qualified	3	14
	Doesn't want responsibility	6	26
	Will soon retire	3	4
	Other	3	4
	Total	22	100
9. Has the Bureau done anything to help prepare you for promotions?	Yes	52	42
	No	64	52
	Not ascertainable	8	6
	Total	124	100
10. Have you taken any management courses given by the Bureau?	Yes	42	34
	No	77	62
	Not ascertainable	5	4
	Total	124	100
11. Do you think that taking management courses helps people get promotions?	Yes	41	33
	No	61	49
	Don't know	6	5
	Not ascertainable	16	13
	Total	124	100
12. Is there anything (more) you think the Bureau might do to help people like you get promotions?	Yes	66	53
	No	25	20
	Don't know	25	20
	Not ascertainable	8	7
	Total	124	100

Question	Response	No.	Percent
12a. What things might the Bureau do? 1/	(1) Training	36	33
	• Encourage training/ provide experience	33	30
	• Special efforts for women in upper age groups	3	3
	(2) Communication	33	30
	• Publicize job openings better	17	16
	• Job counselling by supervisors/other Bureau staff	12	11
	• Other	4	4
	(3) Discrimination	40	37
	• Eliminate/ enlighten supervisors who discriminate	15	14
	• Fairer consideration of individual qualifications	10	9
	• Fairer promotion practices	7	6
	• Review job descriptions/better job classification	8	7
13. Have you ever felt that you were discriminated against because you are a woman?	Yes	52	42
	No	65	52
	Not ascertainable	7	6
	Total	124	100

APPENDIX IV Policy Statement on the Use of Generic Pronoun

MEMORANDUM FOR All Divisions and Offices

FROM: (Chief Administrator)

SUBJECT: Non-Discriminatory Language in Employment Related Correspondence

In the interest of further demonstrating our commitment to equal employment opportunity, we should stop using language which may imply sexual bias. Correspondence and documents intended for a general audience should be free of words or phrases which might imply or suggest any form of discrimination to its readers. When writing or revising correspondence you should avoid possible sexual stereotypes.

The generic terms "he" "him" and "his" may confuse readers, suggest stereotypes, and infer subtle forms of sexual discrimination. Avoid using such terms by substituting appropriate words and rearranging the sentence. If these terms must be used, then include both the masculine and feminine genders.

Following are some guidelines that may be used to help resolve the problem of possible discriminatory writing. These are not all inclusive but they indicate the general direction in which we want to go.

1. Refer to the person's organizational position or title rather than to the sex of the person holding the job.

   NO Assign two girls to do the editing.
   YES Assign two assistants to do the editing.

   NO The man on the floor will correct that error.
   YES The technician on the floor will correct that error.

2. Use the plural form so subsequent pronouns will be in the inclusive third person.

   NO When an instructor encounters this situation, he should...
   YES When instructors encounter this situation, they should...

3. When the sentence makes sense without using the pronoun, delete it from the sentence.

   NO Progress must come from the employee himself.
   YES Progress must come from the employee.

4. "One" or "person" can often replace the gender-related pronoun.

   NO To be considered for a supervisory position, he must...
   YES To be considered for a supervisory position, one must...
   YES To be considered for a supervisory position, a person must...

APPENDIX V Excerpt from Letter to Chief, Personnel Division, Dated 5/5/75

Subject: Follow-on Effort to 1974 EEO Plan

The (EEO Officer) told me that you are interested in our follow-on effort for the 1974 EEO Plan. We're delighted with your interest. I'll try to summarize our effort here but I'd be most happy to discuss it more fully with you. Hopefully our findings will be of some value for (agency) training.

BACKGROUND

On March 12, (EEO Officer) presented a review of the 1974 and 1975 EEO Plans for (agency). As I recall, (Chief Administrator) attended also. Some questions were raised about the goals for Grades 13, 14, and 15. A number of persons were interested in a follow-on effort to see how women perceive their chances of promotion into Grades 13 and above.

Pursuant to this we obtained the names of women in Grade 12 positions in (agency) with the idea of obtaining information on attitudes, particularly about opportunities, preparation, and training for managerial positions in government.

IMPLEMENTATION

The attached questionnaire and tally sheet were prepared for interviewing and general discussion with women in Grade 12 positions in (agency). (We hope to conduct similar discussions with women in Grades 13 and 14 later.) Persons in Field Division and the clerical division were omitted because of differences in their situations and because of logistics problems.

This was a combined effort of persons in (women's organization) and FEW (Federally Employed Women), who work in thirteen different divisions of (agency). In addition, we've had good advice from various men and women in (agency).

RESULTS

I understand that most of the contacts have been made. If the data is available we plan to tally results this weekend. (Women's organization) would like a presentation at their lunch hour meeting on Wednesday, May 28. You are most welcome to join us or we'll be glad to discuss the findings with you.

I plan to write a report on the results.

There is one sad piece of information I have heard expressed several times since I started this effort. It is that women are afraid that their supervisors may retaliate against them if they express discontent. This is wholly subjective, since it represents information volunteered

at random. However, if it is representative, this has real implications for women in management positions and in any work in government. In terms of Maslow's Hierarchy, if women are operating at the Security Level, (agency) is being deprived of creativity, integrated endeavor, and many other positive attributes.

I hope our effort contributes in some positive way to the enrichment and enlargement of work in (agency). Please call me if you would like further information (x35417).

APPENDIX VI Grievance Letter

May 22, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR All Employees

From: (Chief Administrator)

Subject: Assuring the Integrity of the Merit System

President Ford recently stated his determination to keep the "Federal Career Service just that--a career service in which men and women can be accepted in the first place on their ability and promoted on their merit". The Department, as well as (agency), has taken a number of steps in recent times to support this objective. These steps have been intended to correct operating practices, whether willful or inadvertent, which are inimical to sound merit system operations.

It is considered extremely important also that all employees have readily available means of assuring themselves that merit system integrity is being maintained at the worksite. As emphasized by the U.S. Civil Service Commission in guidance issued to all Federal agencies:

> "Employees who have a basis for believing that personnel laws or rules are being violated, and the matter is not appropriate for the grievance or appeals procedures (emphasis added), should know that there is an official within each department or agency to whom they can provide the facts, without fear of reprisal, and that appropriate inquiry and action will follow."

In line with this advice, the Department has recently designated (appointee) as the Department's Merit System Representative. Any employee who has information that he or she believes meets the criteria set out above, may provide the facts to (appointee) without fear of reprisal. He can be reached in (address and telephone number).

APPENDIX VII Report on Grade 12 Survey

SURVEY OF ATTITUDES TOWARD MANAGEMENT AND SUPERVISION

REPORT TO: (Name), Director
Equal Employment Opportunity

Prepared by: Committee for EEO Plan Follow-up Activity

This report presents the results of our joint effort to investigate attitudes on management and supervision held by women in (agency), and how these women perceive their chances of advancement into management positions.

During the past month a survey was conducted with women in Grade 12 positions in (agency) and (agency). Background information appears in Section D. Tabulated responses and questionnaire are attached. A sample of verbatim responses on discrimination (questionnaire item 13) and on suggestions for improving opportunities (questionnaire item 12) appears on pages 7 and 8.

A. WHAT DOES THE SURVEY SHOW?

1. Overwhelmingly, respondents display a positive attitude toward (agency), a desire to gain competence and the opportunity to function fully in their jobs, and the will and determination to move ahead.

2. Overwhelmingly, responses show that discrimination

   - generates from incompetent supervision; and
   - results in underutilization of professional personnel.

   This is a loss of economic resources and a waste of the taxpayers' money.

   • EXAMPLES of competence and incompetence

   Following are two contrasting cases reported in the survey.

   SITUATION 1:

   ...When I came to this branch I was the only woman. I felt that my supervisor failed to take advantage of my experience. I had to ask for responsibility. Now that I have proved myself I have plenty of responsibility.

SITUATION 2:

...My supervisor said I should take more initiative. When I asked him to explain this more he said, "Why don't you just get pregnant and quit!"

- In each case the supervisor initially related to the woman subordinate in a biased fashion. However,

  - the first supervisor had the potential for growth and responded in a mature, professional manner. The result is a productive, highly motivated employee.

  - the second supervisor failed to assume the role of supervisor. His incompetence resulted in a dissatisfied, poorly motivated employee.

B. OTHER HIGHLIGHTS

1. There are communication problems related to job openings, job qualifications, and whether or not a person has been considered for a job. (See questionnaire items 3-6.)

   - About 30 percent of the respondents feel that improvement is essential in this area - see item 12.

   - In considering the most recent job opening that a respondent knew about and felt qualified to fill

     - over 50 percent heard about the job <u>after</u> it was filled;

     - about 35 percent did not know if they were considered for the position.

     The pity is that in at least 65 percent of the cases the position was in the respondent's own division.

2. There are discrimination problems. (See questionnaire items 7f, 7g and item 13.)

   - Of those who knew the person who filled the "most recent job" (referred to in the item above)

     - 28 percent felt that the job description had been rewritten or tailored to the person's qualifications;

     - 15 percent consider themselves better qualified to fill the position; another 47 percent did not know which person was better qualified. (This reinforces the need for better communication about job promotions.)

- 42 percent of the persons interviewed claim that they have been subject to sex discrimination in (agency).

- Verbatim examples of discrimination appear on page 7. A total of 78 illustrations were recorded in the survey. These have been classified as:

  (a) General Attitudes (30 examples)

  ...Division Chief said that he "couldn't even get a promotion for a man with a wife and child."

  (b) Administrative Manifestations (22 examples)

  ...promotion denied because I was not "seasoned enough" and then a promotion to another branch was blocked.

  (c) Supervisory Attitudes (13 examples)

  ...assistant division chief says that no woman is qualified to hold his job.

  (d) Supervisory Practices (13 examples)

  ...my supervisor frequently consults someone else for explanation of procedures and definitions relating to my project. The people he consults usually ask me. This behavior may be interpreted as incompetent as well as discriminatory.

3. There are suggestions. (See questionnaire item 12.) Some expressed bitterness but most respondents reacted in a positive manner. They are asking for responsibility and the opportunity to achieve. *(Isn't this a RIGHT!)*

   Illustrations of verbatim responses appear on page 8. There were a total of 109 suggestions which have been classified as:

   (a) Desire for meaningful management courses and counselling (36 suggestions)

   ...why can't management courses be taken at a lower level than GS-13?

   ...force divisions to be consistent in encouraging training of its employees.

(b) Eliminate/enlighten supervisors who discriminate (44 suggestions)

...get rid of people like division chief who says women are tied to their husband's job, (so) he's not interested in hiring or promoting them.

...take caution regarding the placement of persons in supervisory positions who are incompetent, and are prejudiced against women supervisors.

...we should not be assigned only clerical-type jobs.

...change supervisors - don't put in male chauvinists ...first line supervisors sometimes discriminate; Bureau should examine each case individually.

(c) Better communication on job openings and work potential (29 suggestions)

...conduct desk audits annually to see if (I am) doing the same work as a GS-13.

...(provide) personal interviews and counselling by senior staff members.

...the Bureau should take steps to see that older women, who have been by-passed over time, are given equal opportunities.

...support more studies like this one.

C. WHAT CAN (AGENCY) DO?

1. Train or get rid of incompetent supervisors.

- Stop subordinating the supervisory functions of a technician-supervisor.

  - A competent technician is *one* competent technician.

  - A competent supervisor develops a staff of competent technicians.

- Create open-ended positions for technicians who do not want to assume supervisory functions. Why limit these positions to retirees?

2. Provide a climate where good management practices are known and expected.

   - Discrimination is often the product of ignorance.

     - Management courses provide theory, such as The Len's Model for Social Adaptation and Hertzberg's Hygiene Satisfiers. No manager has the privilege of being ignorant of effective management practices.

   - From top management down (Department) and Civil Service courses should be given proper recognition.

     - Get rid of division chiefs who cling to authoritarian leadership and *belittle* management courses that deal with modern practices and enlightened motivation. They communicate their ignorance to lower level supervisors.

     - Hold division chiefs and the assistant chiefs responsible for the incompetence of their supervisors.

3. Develop dynamic courses for junior professionals. Grade 12 women want training; they want the opportunity to learn effective management practices.

   - Have junior professionals participate in seminars in which they present and discuss the material they learn in the courses.

   - Hold seminars at which participants show how they have implemented (or seen implemented) what they learned.

4. Implement the suggestions in this survey. (A copy of all 109 suggestions can be obtained from the EEO Director.)

   - When a person is promoted, show why that particular person was selected.

     - Put it in writing. Compare each candidate's qualifications. See that attributes were fairly considered.

     - Provide guidance and training opportunities for persons not selected.

5. Review all grade 13 positions filled since January 1, 1974.

   - Where ever a woman has been denied a promotion for which she is amply qualified, give her top priority for the next opening in her field.

- Where ever a person received a promotion based on a tailored job description, cronyism, or in other ways was hand-groomed for the job, provide special opportunity for a well-qualified woman to be promoted within the next six months.

This is affirmative action - promoting qualified women into jobs that have been denied them and training women for jobs that have been denied them.

D. SURVEY BACKGROUND

This project was an out-growth of a (women's organization) presentation on the 1974-75 EEO Plans at (agency). The plans set certain goals for promoting women in Grades 13, 14, and 15. Several persons were interested in a follow-on effort to see how women perceive their chances of promotions into grades 13 and above.

During the past month a survey was conducted with women in Grade 12 positions in (agency). (We plan to extend this to grades 13 and 14 shortly.) Persons in Field Division and (clerical division) were omitted, largely because of logistics problems. Attempt was made to contact the other 151 women on our Grade 12 list. Of these, 124 were still eligible and available for interview. One hundred and twenty-three were interviewed; there was one refusal.

In general, respondents were asked about opportunities, preparation, and training for managerial positions. There were also questions on perception of discrimination and suggestions for management practices related to promotions.

Verbatim responses were tabulated separately. Discrimination responses (item 13) were separated into two groups; (1) those that respondents have experienced in their present division and (2) those that were "ever-experienced."

E. WHAT NEXT?

Mr. (Chief Administrator):

Our Executive Board would like to meet with you or your representative to see what programs can be developed along the lines that we have suggested, or any that you suggest.

Mr. (Personnel Chief):

We would like a list of (agency) women in grades 13, 14, and 15, so that we can continue this survey into the three top levels. These are the areas in which the EEO plan has been least effective in the past.

13. *Think about your whole career at (agency). Have you ever felt that you were discriminated against because you are a woman?*

13a. Could you briefly describe the situation or incident?

...My last promotion was turned down three times because of age, I believe.

..."All she needs is a good screw."

...I am not allowed to go to meetings dealing with my subject matter assignments. On the whole, given two equals the woman will get the poorer work assignment.

...When I accepted another position, my supervisor told the division chief that my promotion prospects were good and had my transfer blocked - then he held up my promotion for eight months.

...I've received other recognition but no promotion.

...I assisted a man on a particularly difficult job. When he left he recommended me, as the most knowledgeable person to get his position (GS-13). It was given to a man who knew nothing about the work.

...Current supervisor doesn't try to give me interesting work or work that will get me anywhere. Another woman in the branch was given no work at all. I am the only woman in branch now, and I am leaving branch. Supervisor has difficulty supervising women admittedly.

...My supervisor indicated that he did not think a woman could or should do the same professional job as a man, even though the job descriptions are the same. Therefore, I was given less responsible, more menial jobs resulting in a longer time between promotions than the men (in comparable jobs).

...In the previous division in which I worked I felt that all women were discriminated against.

- Women were not included in meetings on projects they were supervising.
- Women in grade 13 did the same work as men at grade 14.
- It took longer for women to get promotions.

12. Is there anything (more) you think the Bureau might do to help people like you get promotions?

...The Bureau's policy of merit promotion is ass-backward. Rather than notifying the employee that a position is open they notify you that the position has been filled and you were not selected.

...Publicize openings early enough for persons to apply.

...Monthly seminars for information.

...Supervisors have not discussed any possibility of change or what I have to do to move up. Work I'm being given is low level piddling stuff. I don't understand job classifications and job descriptions and their effect on my promotions.

...Encourage divisions to give management courses to GS-12's in general. This division is very apathetic about on-job training for its personnel.

...Encourage training. I feel very little aid has been given by our branch chief.

...Post professional job vacancies.

...Allow women to take management courses before they get the management responsibility, instead of after the fact.

...Examine each job to determine if it has been filled only by men and, if so, determine why this has been the case. Forced to answer this, women might be considered more readily for a particular position.

... Fire division chief and get assignments out.

...Many times the way you get promoted is by who you know (or who knows you).

...The Bureau should take steps to see that older women, who have been by-passed over time, are given equal opportunities. It doesn't help our situation to bring in young women and promote them rapidly.

...Fairer consideration of individual qualifications.

...The availability of information on training opportunities varies from one division to another.

July 14, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: (Chief Administrator)

From: (Women's Organization)

Subject: Improving Opportunities for Employee Advancement

The (women's organization) is pledged to eliminating all forms of discrimination. We feel that this can best be accomplished through instituting various changes within (agency) that will make the system more open and improve the flow of communication. As a consequence of the recent report on GS-12 women employees and our experience with a wide variety of employee concerns at all levels, we are making the following recommendations.

1. Posting of announcements for all competitive positions, both professional and non-professional, at all grade levels. This practice is employed in a number of other agencies and enables employees who are interested and believe they are qualified to apply.

2. Replacement of the standard nonselection letter with a notice detailing the essential and less essential qualifications for the position and noting those areas in which the candidate fell short. This would help an applicant who wished to be prepared for such a position to take the necessary steps. The existing critical skills check lists could be adapted for this purpose.

3. Recognition of technical expertise which would enable an employee to advance without having to assume supervisory responsibilities. There are highly qualified persons who have neither the ability nor the desire to be supervisors. Making such tasks a requirement for advancement exacerbates the problem of having unwilling and incompetent supervisors.

It is our opinion that adoption of these recommendations would go a long way toward improving employee morale by creating a working environment where information about job openings is readily available and advancement is possible within the framework of the individual employees' capabilities.

cc: (EEO Officer)

August 15, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: (Agency Director)

From: (Women's Organization)

Subject: Improving Opportunities for Employee Advancement

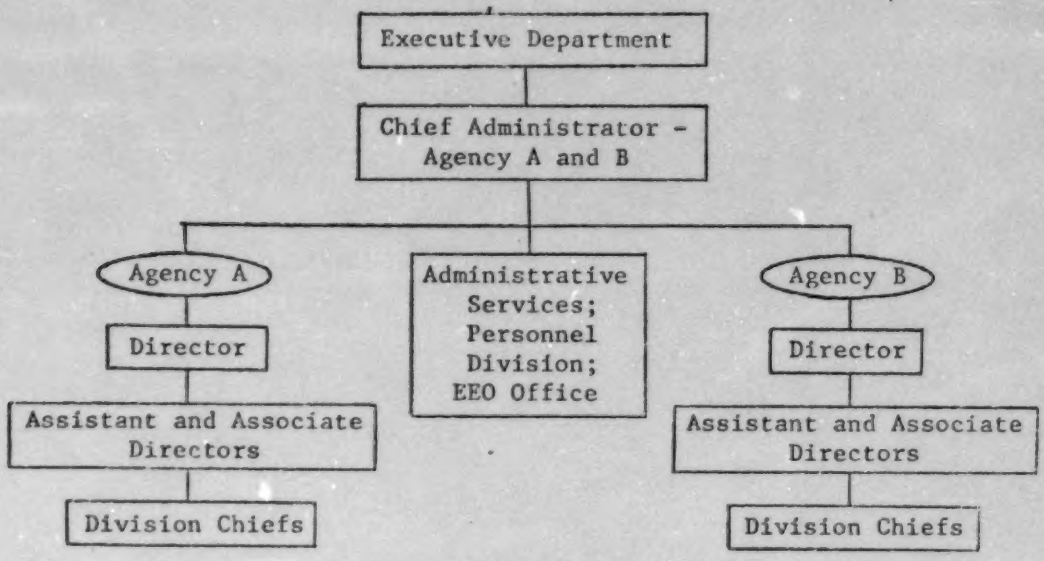
Prior to the dissolution of (agency), the (women's organization) completed a survey of women in GS-12 positions at (agency). In a memorandum addressed to (Chief Administrator) (dated July 14, 1975) we outlined specific suggestions for improving promotion and hiring procedures, based on the findings from that survey. With the return of administrative functions to (agency), we are referring our proposals to you. In reviewing the attached proposals, please note that they benefit not only minorities and women, but every employee in the Bureau.

We would like an opportunity to meet with you to discuss the proposals. For your convenience, a copy of the Grade 12 Report is attached.

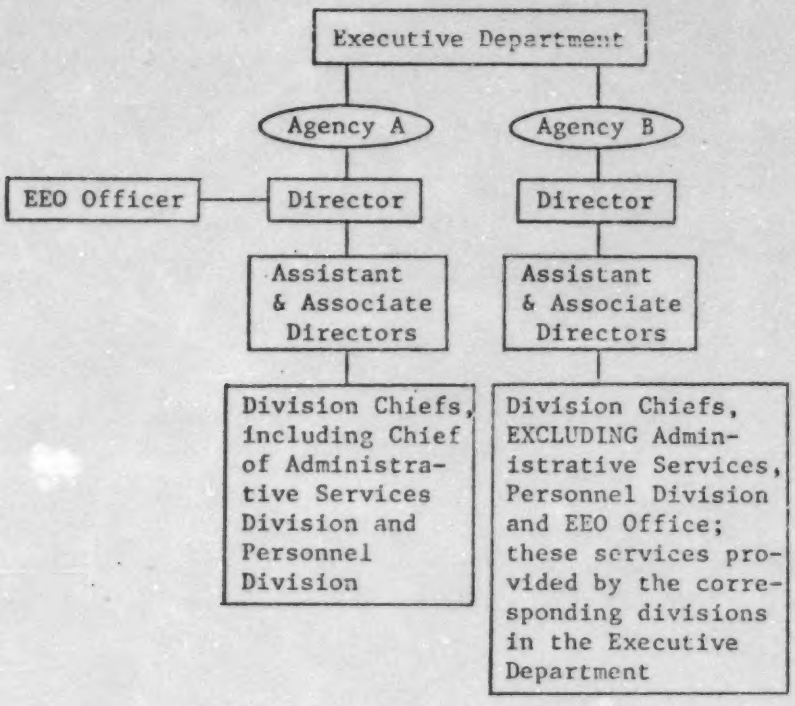
cc: (EEO Officer)
(Personnel Director)

APPENDIX IX Organization Chart

Agencies A and B[1] and Administrative Unit Before the Reorganization



Agencies A and B After Administrative Unit Abolished


Executive Department
Agency A
Agency B
EEO Officer
Director
Director
Assistant & Associate Directors
Assistant & Associate Directors
Division Chiefs, including Chief of Administrative Services Division and Personnel Division
Division Chiefs, EXCLUDING Administrative Services, Personnel Division and EEO Office; these services provided by the corresponding divisions in the Executive Department

[1]Agency A - larger agency
Agency B - smaller agency

APPENDIX X Announcement of Training

SUPERVISION AND GROUP PERFORMANCE

PERSONNEL DIVISION

WHAT: A 3-day course for supervisors.

WHEN: November 17-19, 1975

WHERE: Room 2272, Building 3

FOR WHOM: Any supervisor, GS 9 through 14, in the (agency)

WHY: A supervisor today must have the ability to direct the efforts of his employees in a working environment of ever-increasing complexity. Knowledges and skills in the areas of human relations, motivation, group process, and organization are required as well as technical experience.

The purpose of this course is to offer experienced supervisors an opportunity to develop their talents in particular areas and to introduce new supervisors to a range of management practices and theory.

TOPICS: Some of the topics which will be covered in this course are:

- Motivation
- Leadership Styles
- Communication
- Group Decision Making, and
- the Supervisor as Completor of Group Actions

REGISTRATION: There are 15 spaces available in this class. Participants will be accepted on a first come, first-served basis. You may reserve a space by calling the Employee Development Branch by October 31, 1975.

APPENDIX XI Note to Division Chief

(Division Chief), re the Branch Chiefs' meeting. Your remarks on fear and stifling communication were excellent.

There was a recent illustration of this "fear" tactic and its consequences -- involving the same character you referred to (he's known as Haldeman East). He used fear of the union to close off all lines of communication to the women's organization in the Bureau. Now --

- two of the leaders have joined the union (and, of course, have become leaders there).
- the group is contacting the Capital Chapter of FEW (Federally Employed Women) for assistance in bringing a class suit against the Bureau.

The things the women asked for were aimed at integrating employee goals with the goals of the Bureau - and probably would have been cheaper than hot dogs.

Since I criticize, I'll also serve. If you want a second contact person, I'll volunteer for the shindig.

Again - good deal on attacking fear as a modus operandi (it doesn't work anyway!). Chester Barnard's Functions of the Executive (on communication) should be required reading for every supervisor.

ICM

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